UGC CARE LIST No. 193
ISSN 0030 – 5324

Journal of The Oriental Institute

Vol. 72

1949-2023

Accredited Grade 'A+' by NAAC
UNIVERSITY KA
AMRIT **MAHOTSAV**

Oriental Institute
The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda
Vadodara

Editor
Sweta Prajapati

UGC CARE LIST No. 193
ISSN 0030 – 5324

JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

Volume 72, Year 2023

Editor

Sweta Prajapati

1949-2023

सत्यं शिवं सुन्दरम्
Estd. 1949

Accredited Grade 'A+' by NAAC
UNIVERSITY KA
AMRIT MAHOTSAV

Oriental Institute
The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda
Vadodara

JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

(Referred and Blind 'Peer-reviewed' Annual International Indological CARE Listed Research Journal)
Published every year in the month of October

Vol. 72, 2023

© Oriental Institute, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara

Advisory Board :

Prof. Shrinivas Varkhedi, *Vice-Chancellor, Central Sanskrit University, New Delhi*

Prof. Rabindra Kumar Panda, *Vice-Chancellor, Shri Jagannath Sanskrit University, Puri, Orissa*

Prof. Madhusudan Penna, *Kavikulguru Kalidas Sanskrit University, Ramtek, Nagpur, Maharashtra*

Prof. Sadashiv Kumar Dwivedi, *Dept. of Sanskrit, Faculty of Arts, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi*

Prof. Deven M. Patel, *Professor of Sanskrit and Indian Literature, Dept. of South Asia Studies, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (U.S.)*

Editorial Board :

Dr. Vipul Patel
Dr. Sapna Jain
Dr. Nandkishor Mishra
Ms. Jayshree Gamit

Note : *The statements and views expressed by the authors of articles in this Journal are their own and not necessarily of the Editorial Board.*

ISSN : 0030-5324
UGC CARE LIST NUMBER : Arts & Humanities No. 193
Registration No. : 15007/57
Published by : Oriental Institute
The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda
Vadodara - 390 001
Price : ₹ 300/- Annual subscription (For India)
$ 50 Annual subscription (For Foreign Countries)
Address : The Director, Oriental Institute
The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda
Near Palace Gate, Palace Road
Vadodara - 390 001, Gujarat, India
Telephone : (+91-265) 2425121
E-mail : director-oriental@msubaroda.ac.in
Website : www.msubaroda.ac.in

सत्यं शिवं सुन्दरम्
Estd. 1949

The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda
Accredited A+ Grade by NAAC

Maharaja Fatehsinghrao Gaekwad Road, Fatehgunj
Vadodara-390 002, Gujarat, India

Message from the Desk of Hon'ble Vice Chancellor...

In the year 2023, we are celebrating the 75th establishment anniversary of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara. On this occasion Oriental Institute is publishing 72nd volume of the **'Journal of The Oriental Institute'.** Many eminent scholars and researchers from India and foreign countries have contributed to the **'Journal of The Oriental Institute',** which was started in 1951, as a reputed scholarly publication of Oriental institute. In the previous volumes of this Journal, it is noticed that this journal has been consistently providing ample number of research papers on diverse subjects. This journal has been appreciated by scholars of India and abroad owing to its quality research papers. The present Volume incorporates research papers on Sanskrit Literature and Grammar, Vedic Philosophy, Indian Philosophy, Archaeology, History and Architecture as well as manuscript-based research. The fourteen research papers in this Volume are written by eminent scholars and researchers. The outstanding research papers by Prof. G.C. Tripathi, Prof. Siddhartha Singh, Prof. Prasad Bhide & Prof. Malhar Kulkarni, Prof. Manish Rajan Walvekar & Pradnya Deshpande, Prof. Monish Shah & Siddarth Kale, Prof. Suhas Chand Kapur, Dr. K.M. Chudasama are featured in this Volume. Furthermore, few research articles by emerging scholars are also included in this volume. Annual activities of the Oriental institute and book reviews are also part of this volume.

I extend my hearty congratulations and best wishes to Oriental Institute and its staff for bringing out such an illustrious 72nd Volume of the **'Journal of The Oriental Institute'** on this joyous occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara.

Date: July 19th, 2023

Prof. (Dr.) V. K. Srivastava
Vice Chancellor

CONTENTS

1. **Early Classical Viṣṇuism and its Bifurcation into Vaikhānasa and Pāñcarātra Schools** - G. C. Tripathi 1-18

2. **The Elements of Drama with Special Reference to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*** - Siddhartha Singh 19-42

3. **S. D. Joshi's Policy for IC Analysis in Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles** - Prasad Bhide & Malhar Kulkarni 43-62

4. **Some Grammatical Issues in the *Ṛgveda-Maṇḍala* IX: Possible Solutions** - Manish Rajan Walvekar & Pradnya Deshpande 63-92

5. **Theory of Matter in Jain Philosophy** - Sapna Jain 93-112

6. **Ancient Trade Routes: The Way to Globalisation in Antiquity** - K. M. Chudasama 113-126

7. **Antiquities and Remains from Sopara and Corroboratory References in Jaina Literature** - Jainacharya Bhagyayashsuri MS, Monish Shah & Siddarth Kale 127-147

8. **The Applicability of Chanakya's Thoughts in Today's Politics** - Showkat Ahmad Dar 149-162

9. **The Development of Buddhist Iconography in Ancient South-Eastern Bengal (C. Seventh-Thirteen Centuries CE): A Preliminary Study** - Suhas Chand Kapur 163-180

10. **In Search of A Literary Tradition in Early Medieval Bengal in the Light of Some Pāla Inscriptions (9th-12th Century CE)** - Priyankara Chakraborty 181-199

11. **Two Unpublished Brahmanical Images from Singhbhum, Jharkhand: An Iconographic Study** - Rahul Nag 201-209

12. **The Grace of The Animals on Rock Painting During the Mesolithic Period** - Barun Mandal 211-226

13. **A Critical Examination of the Chowlikere's Vijayanagara Inscription in Barkur** - Gowrish R Prabhu 227-246

14. **Goan Goddess Kāmākṣī** - Neeta Omprakash 247-262

Review.. 263-273

Activities of Oriental Institute (2022-2023) 275-281

EARLY CLASSICAL VIṢṆUISM AND ITS BIFURCATION INTO VAIKHĀNASA AND PĀÑCARĀTRA SCHOOLS

G. C. Tripathi*

Abstract: Viṣṇu holds a divinity of highest rank among the Hindus. He had already a considerable occupied importance in the mythology of the brāhamaṇs but a subordinate position in the *Ṛgveda.* In *Ṛgveda* only six hymns are dedicated to Viṣṇu, but more than two hundred hymns are dedicated to Indra. But in the post Vedic Period, the importance of Vedic ritual receded and elements of Bhakti slowly gained prominence. In later Vedic times two ancient Schools of Viṣṇuism namely the Vaikhānasa and the Pāñcarātra emerged. The vaikhānas were the ascetics who lived away from the society, mostly in forests, observing celibacy and worshipped Viṣṇu as Supreme Being in sacrificial fire with Vedic *mantras*. The Vaikhānasa has four main disciples Atri, Kāśyapa, Marīci and Bhṛgu. This School believes that Viṣṇu has two aspects one is *niśakala* or *nirguṇa* and the other is *sakala* or *saguṇa*.

Keywords: Viṣṇuism, Vaikhānas School, Pāñcarātra School

One of the most vexed problems of Indian religious history is to account for and to give a convincing reason for the sudden and steep rise of the importance of Viṣṇu in the post-vedic period pushing such highly glorified Vedic gods like Indra and Varuṇa into oblivion, a process which, I think, is still continuing. My German Professor late Prof. Ulrich Schneider, in his posthumously published work Viṣṇu's Aufstieg[1] (1994) has proposed the thesis that Viṣṇu ows this

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 193, Vol. 72, pp. 1-18.

* B. L. Institute of Indology, Vallabh Smarak Jain Temple, G.T. Karnal Road, Delhi-110036

[1] Posthumously published by Prof. Konrad Meisig in the series *"Friburge Beiträge zur Indologie"*, No. 27 Wiesbaden, 1994.

unprecedented rise to his very specific and explicit *social function* which is already hinted at in the *Ṛgveda.*Whereas Indra conquers the enemies of the 'Āryans', Viṣṇu captures the land, distributes it among the new settlers, who are mostly farmers, thus increasing agricultural production and working for the welfare of the society, an activity which leads Viṣṇu to develop and become the 'supporter of the creation' in the Purāṇas and also to the phenomenon that a Hindu king and his wife are identified with Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī.

Though much can be said in favour of this theory and some passages may be cited from the RV in support of it too, I think that it is only half of the story. One must also take into account the facts like the total identification of Viṣṇu with Vedic sacrifice *('Viṣṇur vai yajñaḥ')*; the identification of the Vedic metres with Śyena or Garuḍa who carries the 'sacrifice' (read Viṣṇu !) to the gods; Viṣṇu's close connection with the Sun; ascription of the 'authorship' of the *Puruṣasūkta* (RV X.90) to '*Ṛṣi* Nārāyaṇa' in which the *Puruṣa* is totally identified with the universe and is supposed to exist even beyond that. He is identical not only all this which exists but also with that which is yet to come into being.

पुरुष एवेदं सर्वं यद् भूतं यच्च भव्यम् ।
पादोऽस्य विश्वा भूतानि, त्रिपादस्यामृतं दिवि ॥ (RV X. 90)

Further, the very etymology of the word Viṣṇu derived from the root *viś* which means both 'to penetrate' and 'to cover' has contributed not less towards it: *'Viṣṇuḥ sarva-praveśanāt'*. According to later Vedic text *Bṛhaddevatā*, Viṣṇu is called so because he is permeated through the whole universe-

विष्णातेर्विश्वतेर्वा स्याद् वेवेष्टेर्व्याप्तिकर्मणः ।
विष्णुर्निरुच्यते सूर्यः सर्वः सर्वान्तरश्च यः ॥

Viṣṇu purāṇa declares that 'Nārāyaṇa is present inside and outside of each and every object of this universe, whatever we see and hear of:

यच्च किञ्चिद् जगत्यस्मिन् दृश्यते श्रूयतेऽपि वा ।
अन्तः प्रविश्य तत् सर्वं व्याप्य नारायणः स्थितः ॥

The *Puruṣa* of the RV (X.90) comes to be so deeply associated with Viṣṇu that the 16 verses of this hymn are recited one by one while offering the *16 Upacāras* at the time of *pūjā* to Viṣṇu.

How could a god whom only six hymns are dedicated in the RV, surpass in importance the supreme god of the Ṛgvedic pantheon, Indra, whom more than 200 hymns are dedicated, is a major problem with the scholars. But it is quite possible that the stastical data of the numbers of hymns dedicated to each god in the RV is not the correct criteria for judging the relative importance of a particular god in the religious beliefs of the Vedic society. Does the Vedic collection of hymns done mainly for ritualistic purpose give us a true picture of the religious beliefs of the contemporary society?

It appears that, besides believing in quite a number of gods whom hymns are addressed, the Vedic Indians had a clear concept of a single Supreme Being as well, who is sporadically referred to in the RV with such expressions as :

a) एकं सद् विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति । (Asyavāmīya-sūkta RV X. 121.8)
b) यो देवेष्वधि देव एकः । (Prajapati-sūkta RV I.164.46)
c) यो अस्याध्यक्षः परमे व्योमन्त्सो अङ्ग वेद । (Nāsadīya-sūkta RV X.129.7)

Whether they conceived this Supreme Being as Personal - having a form- or impersonal and totally abstract, is difficult to say categorically but, I think, in the thoughts of Vedic Indians it was both, or was capable of assuming both forms or states. Whereas the *'Asyavāmīya-sūkta'* (1.164) refers to this supreme Power simply as *sat* or 'Being'', the poet of *Nāsadīya-sūkta* (X.129) refers to this 'supervisor' or 'superintendent' of creation as being present in the 'highest heaven' *(parame vyoman)* but says in the very opening verse that he is to be conceived as beyond the categories of Being *(sat)* and Non-Being *(asat)* *(nāsadāsīn no sad āsīt tadānīm)*. The famous *Puruṣasūkta* (X.90) refers to the creator of the universe as *Puruṣa* or 'Person' 'one-fourth of whom is this creation and the three-fourth of whom exists beyond the creation' *(tripād ūrdhvam udait puruṣaḥ, pādo'syêhâ bhavat punaḥ)*. Everything in this world: human beings, their social order, animals, plants, time, knowledge systems, stars and planets, air and life-breath emerge out of his body.

Both the traditions of considering the Supreme Being as personal and impersonal run concurrently in Indian religious thoughts and get reflected in the Upaniṣads, although the tradition of an abstract Supreme Being as *Brahma,* gets more stressed in these texts. However at the same time, a vivid description of a Personal Supreme Being (as *Maheśvara*) and of his powers *(Māyā)* is also available in the *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad:*

मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यान्मायिनं तु महेश्वरम् ।
तस्यावयवभूतैस्तु व्याप्तं सर्वमिदं जगत् ॥ 3/10

It is difficult to say with what particular name or appellative did the ancient Indian call this Supreme Personal Being. *Īśvara* or *Mahā-īśvara* (=Ruler) are usually the words used for Him in the Upaniṣads whereas the expression *Bhagavān* - the fortunate one, the blessed one - seems also to have been in use already in quite ancient times - a word which could also be used in Sanskrit while addressing a 'fortunate' 'noble' or 'respected person' (*bhagavaḥ,* from *bhagaḥ*= fortune, glamour). Whereas *Īśvara* later drifts more towards Śiva, *Bhagavān* comes slowly closer to Viṣṇu, although still retaining its general use.

Now the big question is whether this Personal Supreme Being was designated or named *inter alia* as "Viṣṇu" from the very beginning i.e. from the earlier Vedic times or this name came to be associated or attached to him in the Post-Vedic period - i.e. during the period which we describe as the period of the 'ascent of Viṣṇu'. If the first is the fact and the Vedic 'Supreme Being' was already known as Viṣṇu during the Ṛgvedic times, then the Ṛṣis glorifying Indra have done a sort of injustice towards him by making him an associate of Indra, i.e. Upa-Indra, Upendra, much in the manner of the Buddhist writers of later period who make gods like Brahmā and Indra coming down from heaven and paying respect to Budhha. If this is the case, - and much in the RV speaks for it - we do not have to seek for a reason or justification for the 'rise' or 'ascent' of Viṣṇu in the later Vedic age. He was the Supreme Being earlier and remained it later as well, only to emerge more in foreground as the Vedic ritual receded. But if it was only the word 'Viṣṇu' as an appellative or adjective which came to be associated with or attached to the Supreme Being in the later period - more prominently to the 'Personal Supreme Being' much like *'Bhagavat',* may be because of the reason that he associated with *Yajña* and further his name had this wonderful etymology "the penetrator", then also we need not have to go too far to understand the reasons for his 'ascendance', because it would then just be a new or additional name for a divine personality which was already known under such names as Puruṣa (RV) or Nārāyaṇa (ŚB) in older literature. However the association of the word Viṣṇu with the 'Personal Supreme Being' must necessarily have brought some of the traits of Viṣṇu like e.g. his traversing of the Earth (or the universe) with three steps, (I.154.1, 2, 3), his association with a *Cakra* with 360 spokes (RVI.155.6) or his characteristic of changing forms which developed into the idea of his incarnating himself in manifold ways.

Thus we have now three alternatives for the 'ascent' of Viṣṇu in the Post-Vedic age:

1. Viṣṇu, because of his marked and prominent function for the welfare of human society becomes prominent in the 'post war' period of peace and rapprochement.

2. Viṣṇu was already a name of the Supreme Personal Being, the *Puruṣa,* during the Ṛgvedic times. But his importance is not properly reflected. It is not only improperly represented in the Vedas but has been rather suppressed in order to highlight the role of Indra.

3. The Supreme Personal Being referred to in the Vedic literature as Puruṣa or Nārāyaṇa etc. simply acquired the name Viṣṇu + *Bhagavān* and *Vāyudeva* etc. in the Post-vedic period when the importance of Vedic ritual receded and the element of *Bhakti* slowly gained prominence.

I feel that the tradition of Viṣṇu as Supreme Being having both personal and impersonal traits and aspects has all the likelihood of going back to the Vedic or at least later-vedic times. Of the two ancient schools of Viṣṇuism of which we are going to speak in the following, namely the Vaikhānasa and the Pāñcarātra, the Vaikhānasa is older and has retained a number of Vedic elements in its ritual and practice, whereas Pāñcarātra is a younger school, developed in the Śūrasena region in and around Mathurā, has less of these, but is not totally devoid of them. Consequently, it is less orthodox and much more liberal than Vaikhānasa and advocates initiation (*dīkṣā*) for all the members of the society including the lowest of the lowly *(Śūdra's),* also irrespective of the gender, whereas among the Vaikhānasas only *Brāhmins* (as priests) are entitled to worship Viṣṇu - others may just be spectators. This is mainly because of the reason that the Vaikhānasa as mostly use Vedic *Mantras* for the worship of Viṣṇu whereas the Pāñcarātrins use both the Vedic and the *laukika* (i.e. composed in simple classical Sanskrit) *Mantras,* mostly the latter. The emergence of the school Pāñcarātra from the older Vaikhānasa can very well be compared with the emergence of the school of *Mahāsaṅghikas* or *Mahāyāna* from the *Hīnayāna alias Therāvāda.*

The Vaikhānasa : According to the testimony of ancient texts the Vaikhānasas were the ascetics who lived away from the society, mostly in forests, observing celibacy (but perhaps not all) and worshipped Viṣṇu as Supreme Being in sacrificial fire with Vedic *Mantras.* According to *Mahābhārata* they subsisted on the products of forests, eating bulbs/roots, fruits or even flowers.[2]

मूलैरेके फलैरेके पुष्पैरेके द्रढव्रताः ।
व्रतयन्ति यथान्यायं वैखानसमताश्रिताः ॥

The school is said to have been founded by the hermit *Vikhānasa* who according to a folk etymology is believed to have 'dug deep' (*vi* + √ *khan*) into the mysteries of the Vedas-

---

[2] In the *Abhijñāna-Śākuntalam* (I.23) of Kālidāsa, when king Dushyanta visits the hermitage of the sage Kaṇva and falls in love with Śakuntalā who at that time, accompanied by her two friends Priyamvadā and Anasūyā, is watering the plants, he asks one of them what has the sage planned for the future of Śakuntalā, whether she shall observe the *Vaikhānasa vrata* (vow) only till she is given in marriage or whether she plans to remain unmarried throughout her life, away from the contact of any male, and spend her time with the does of the forest with whom she is deeply befriended due to the common feature of having exactly the same kind of large and black, eyes, as they have:

वैखानसं किमनया व्रतमप्रदानाद् व्यापाररोधि मदनस्य निषेवितव्यम् ।
अत्यन्तमेव सदृशेक्षणवल्लभाभिः अहो निवत्स्यति समं हरिणाङ्गनाभिः ॥

अन्तर्हितानां खननाद् वेदानां तु विशेषतः ।
स विभुः प्रोच्यते सर्वैर्विखना ब्रह्मवादिभिः ॥

Vaikhānas is mentioned by name in the *Tāṇḍya, Jaiminīya* and *Ārṣeya* Brāhmaṇas, in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka,* as also in the *Baudhāyana-śrauta* and *dharma-sūtras*. *Vaikhānasa Kalpasūtra* is available and its portion on kindling sacrificial fire and invocatory *Mantras* for Agni has been adopted by *Āpastamba, Gautama* and *Hārīta. Ṛṣi* Vaikhānasa is referred to in the *Bṛhaddevata* as well. Sage Vaikhānasa had four main disciples Atri, Kaśyapa, Marīci and Bhṛgu under whose names texts are, or were, available.

According to Mahābhārata the Vaikhānasas were *ekadevavādinaḥ* 'believer in one single god' i.e. monotheists, and they referred to their god as *Viṣṇu, Puruṣa, Nitya or Acyuta* meaning one and the same person without any difference among these words

विष्णुं च पुरुषं नित्यम् अच्युतं च युधिष्ठिरम् ।
अविरुद्धेन मां प्राहुः वैखानसविदो जनाः ॥

According to the philosophy of Vaikhānasa, Viṣṇu is the ultimate Reality. He is beyond the reach of the imagination of common mortals but can be perceived uninterruptedly by the sages in meditation, cf. RV. I. 22.20

तद् विष्णोः परमं पदं सदा पश्यन्ति सूर्यः ।

Viṣṇu has two aspects: is *niṣkala* or *nirguṇa* which is a formless and has simply the nature of lustre *(tejas)* abiding in the *hṛtkamala* of the devotee. The other form is qualified, i.e. *sakala* or *saguṇa,* this is the cosmic aspect of Viṣṇu in which he is penetrated through the whole universe. Another fourfold division of Viṣṇu is also mentioned in the texts (*Jñānakāṇḍa* of Kaśyapa) which is as follows: *'Ādimūrti-Viṣṇu'* the transcedental formless aspect, *'Mahā-Viṣṇu'* - also called *Satya* - identical with the external reality of the universe, *'Sadā-viṣṇu'* also called *Acyuta* which is identical with individual Soul and *'Nārāyaṇa-Aniruddha'*, a form in which he is permeated through the whole universe.

The Vaikhānasas also believe in the Śakti of Viṣṇu and call it *Śrī* which is the Will of the Lord - eternal, without beginning or end, un-manifest, consisting of total bliss and is the basic subtle cause of the creation: (*mūla-prakṛtirūpā;*) (under Sāṃkhya influence !). Some text like *Vaikhānasa-Kalpa* also ascribe her the role of being instrumental in creating consciousness by forming *manas*, *buddhi* and *ahaṅkāra,* i.e. the internal organs or *Antaḥ-karaṇa.*

Tapas (austerities) and *yajña* (also called *Ijyā,* = worship/sacrifice) are considered to be the means of attaining the favour and grace of Viṣṇu. The term *yajña* remains but it is interpreted in the post-Vedic literature of Vaikhānasas as 'Worship' and not sacrifice. However they hold that the worship of Viṣṇu can be of three kinds : worship in the fire (fire pit), worship in the image and mental worship carried out in the heart :

मानसी होमपूजेति बेरपूजेति सा त्रिधा ।

Some texts even speak of worshiping Viṣṇu in the orb of the sun for which the meditational verse quoted in some texts runs as follows :

ध्येयः सदा सवितृ-मण्डल-मध्यवर्ती नारायणः सरसिजासन-सन्निविष्टः ।
केयूरवान् मकरकुण्डलधृत किरीटी हारी हिरण्यमयवपुर्धृत-शङ्खचक्रः ॥

The idea that a particular deity is present in the orb of sun and that he/she has close relationship with human beings or their departed souls, is quite old and is found way back in the *Īśa Upaniṣad* as well (cf. यो असौ आदित्ये पुरुषः सोऽहमस्मि ।).

The *beras* or *bimbas* of the Vaikhānasas are of five kinds. First of all they differentiate between a permanently fixed main image which is called *Dhruva beram* and the mobile images which are of four kinds : the *Kautuka-beram* (for performing daily worship), *Snapana beram* (images for giving bath), *Utsava-beram* (used for festivals) and *Bali-beram* (for evening flower-offerings). These *beras* are consecrated through an elaborate sacrificial ceremony by performing special *homas* in the pits of *Āhavanīya* (*Dhruva*), *Sabhya* (*Kautuka*), *Āhavanīya* (*Snapana*), *Gārhapatya* (*Utsava*) and *Chavanīya* (*Bali*) fires respectively. They are smaller metallic representations of the main image in the sanctum. The ritual of the Vaikhānasas form of worship is meticulously carried out in the

Venkateshwar temple on the Tirumala hills at Tirupati. They are also very fond of performing *'Utsavas'* in honour of their God. Almost every-day one or the other festival is performed.

The priests do not undergo any formal *dīkṣā* (consecration). When their mothers are pregnant, *Śaṅkha* and *Cakra* used in the daily worship, are dipped in milk and are pressed on their upper arms leaving a temporary mark of conch and discus. The child when born is thus automatically considered to have been initiated into the Vaikhānasa *Śāstra*.

The emancipation for the Vaikhānasas from wordly life is of four kinds. All of them reach the realm of Viṣṇu but have different degress of proximity to him. The first *is sālokya,* living in the world of Viṣṇu; the second *sāmīpya* living in the proximity of God; the third is *sārūpya* which is to attain the form and powers similar to Viṣṇu and finally *sāyujya* i.e. to get united with Viṣṇu in Vaikunṭha in everlasting bliss.

Very few works of the Vaikhānasas are available now. As mentioned previously: Atri, Kaśyapa, Bhṛgu and Marīci are their greatest authorities. All the writings of Atri bearing the title *'Tantra'* are lost, what remains is a *paddhati* titled *Samūrtarcā-adhikaraṇa* in 40 *Adhyāyas*. The works of Kaśyapa were known as *Kāṇḍas* of which only *Jñānakāṇḍa* is available and published. Of Bhṛgu 14 works are known to have existed. All bear the title *Adhīkāra* of which only three viz. *Khilādhikāra, Prakīrṇādhikāra* and *Yajñādhikāra* are available. Marīci titled his works as *Saṁhitā* of which he is said to have composed eight out of which only *Ānanda-saṁhitā* in 101 chapters is available and is being critically edited for publication along with an English translation by the scholars attached to the Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts (Delhi). *Vaikhānasas' Kalpasūtra* is also published with the commentary of Narasiṁha Vājapeyī.

Vaikhānasas may have developed great fondness for temple worship over the ages but they strictly adhere to their Vedic tradition and almost exclusively use Vedic *Mantras* for all religious rites and ceremonies, whether performed in home or in the temple. A collection of all the Vedic *Mantras* used in the *Pūjā* and the various

Utsavas of the Tirupati temple is available in the *Devanāgarī* script under the title *'Vaikhānasamantra-praśnāḥ* which one may often see in the hands of young Brāhmin boys in Tirupati receiving training in priesthood.

The Pāñcarātrins : It is not possible to say when exactly the Pāñcarātra School came into being. However the present text of the *Mahābhārata* is conversant with it and mentions it as *'ekāntadharma'* which literally means "Doctrine of single minded devotion" [*viz.* to one particular God, i.e. Viṣṇu]. The word *'Ekāyanam'* referred to as a subject of study in the *Chāndogya upaniṣad.* UP. is also taken to mean the same ('one way', the only way, way the to only One, *yāna*=way). It is also known as *Bhagavachāstra* (mark the use of the word *Bhagavat* here!) and the *bhāgavatas* mentioned in the Buddhist texts and in many ancient inscriptions appear to be the followers of this religious system. There is absolutely no doubt about the fact that the *Śrīmadbhāgavata-purāṇa* has also been produced in their circle, most probably in South India (around 6th c. of common Era).

The term *'Pāñcarātra'* has not yet been satisfactorily explained though more than half a dozen explanations are available. Five 'days' or 'five nights', is simply the meaning of the term and it is this simplicity which in fact causes the difficulty. One explanation says Viṣṇu taught this doctrine for five nights to his five weapons/attributes which assumed the forms of five *Ṛṣis* and propagated it further. The *Sanatkumāra Saṁhitā* says that the doctrine was taught for five nights by Brahmā, Śiva, Indra, Bṛhaspati and the *Ṛṣis* respectively. Another Saṁhitā is of the opinion that *Pāñcarātra* refers to five main activities of a Vaiṣṇava: *Abhigamana* (going to the Temple for *darśana*) *Upādāna* (procuring material for worship), *Pūjā* (worship), *Svādhyāya* (study of own Veda) and *Yoga* during the fivefold divisions of the day namely *prātaḥ* (morning), *saṅgava* (forenoon), *madhyāhna* (noon), *aparāhna* (afternoon) and *sāyam* (evening). This explanation has been accepted by Vedānta Deśika in his *Pāñcarātra-prāmāṇya.* According to the *Ahirbudhnya-saṁhitā* this *Śāstra* derives its name from the treatment of the five forms of Viṣṇu, namely *para, vyūha, vibhava, arcā* and *antryāmin* whereas a curious explanations in a few texts is advanced that this *Śāstra* makes the other five previous *Śāstras* namely Veda-Vedānta (Upaniṣad), Purāṇa, Sāṅkhya and Yoga look like 'night' when it shines. This seems to be a perverted version of the following verse from the MBH. *Śānti* 358.81 which declares exactly these five as the basic constituents of the *Pāñcarātra :*

एवमेकं सांख्य-योगं वेदारण्यकमेव च ।
पुराणानि यत्र जायन्ते पाञ्चरात्रं तदुच्यते ॥

To me the most convincing explanation seems to be the one which traces its origin to the nocturnal discussions on the philosophy of *yajña* and the *yajña-puruṣa* (i.e. Viṣṇu), especially on the *Puruṣamedha* sacrifice described in the ŚB XII.6.1 which is a form of *Agniṣṭoma* or *Somayāga* performed for five days. SB says that it was first performed by 'Puruṣa' to bring all beings under his control and to become Nārāyaṇa.

We have mentioned that *Pāñcarātra* was nearer to common people and very catholic and generous in nature. Some of the practice of the *Tantric* nature like *Ākarṣaṇa, Vaśīkaraṇa* and *Māraṇa* etc. have therefore also crept into some of its works which has made it an object of ridicule and criticism by the Vaikhānasas:

सोम्यं वैखानसं प्रोक्तम् आग्नेयं पाञ्चरात्रकम् ।

It was Yāmunācārya (preceptor of Rāmānuja) who for the first time in his *Āgama-prāmāṇya* called *Pāñcarātra* as *'Kaśmīrāgama'* i.e. a school of thought which originated in Kashmir. Otto Schrader in his pioneer work *"An introduction to Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya saṁhitā"* corroborated this view with new arguments. Mention of the location of various rivers during the *Abhiṣeka* of God in the *Pauṣkara-ṣaṁhitā*, mention of *bhūrjapatra* (birch bark) for drawing the *Yantra* and the mention of the expression *śaktipāta*, for the 'Grace of God' in the *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*[3] which is a technical term of the Kashmirian Śiva-Śākta philosophy, were adduced as reasons. I also believed for a long time in these arguments and considered Kashmir as the land of the origin of *Pāñcarātra,* but have now slowly drifted away from this opinion. While there is no doubt about the fact that the contribution of Kashmir towards Viṣṇuism has not yet been

---

3. An Adyar Library, Chennai publication where he worked for some years as Director before becoming Professor at Kiel (Germany).

properly appreciated or studied, overshadowed as it ever has been by its overwhelming contribution to Śaiva-Śākta philosophy, and while there is no denying the fact that some of the Pāñcarātra *Saṁhitās* were perhaps composed in Kashmir, yet I think that the origin of *Pāñcarātra* is to be put much further back to the 7th-6th c. BCE at least, at a time therefore when Kashmir was culturally not much important and, as I have said before, it was the region near or west of Mathurā in *Kuru-Pāñcāla* which has to be looked at as its birth place, a region where the hero-worship of Kṛṣṇa and his family members must have been strongly prevalent.

'Vāsudeva' is the word which Pāñcarātra uses for its highest Deity (in contrast to 'Viṣṇu' of Vaikhānasa!). Pāṇini (Punjab) refers to the worshippers of Vāsudeva in the *sūtra* '*Vāsudevarjunābhyāṃ vuñ*'. Heliodorus, a Greek devotee of Vāsudeva erects a stone pillar with Garuḍa on the top of it in front of the temple of Viṣṇu in Vidiśā and calls himself a *Bhāgavata* - a devotee of *Bhāgavata* - in the 2nd c. BCE. Excavations at the Temple site by the ASI have proved the existence of the Temple since ca 500 years before the birth of Christ. The Ghosundi (Chittor) inscription dated into 1st century mentions erection of a *Nārayaṇa-Vāṭikā* for *'bhagavān vāsudeva'* ('*Bhagavato Vāsudevasya*') and Saṃkarṣaṇa, (or Balarāma / the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa).

In the first century CE. Ṣoḍaśa dedicates a temple at Mathurā on the spot of the birth of Kṛṣṇa for five *Vṛṣṇi-vīras* i.e. hereoes of the *Vṛṣṇi* race namely *Saṃkarṣaṇa,* Vāsudeva, Pracyumna, Aniruddha and Sāmba and in the same century Nāyanikā in far south dedicates a temple with the opening words *'namo Saṃkarṣaṇa-Vāsudevābhyāṃ'*.

This frequent mention of Vāsudeva and Saṃkarṣaṇa in ancient inscriptions and the use of these terms to denote their highest God as well as His first lower emanation/manifestation as Saṃkarṣaṇa and further the use of the names of the son and grandson of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva (namely Pradyumna and Aniruddha) for the subsequent manifestations of the Supreme Being points towards a close connection of *Pāñcarātra* with *Mathurā*. Further, the *Pāñcarātra* has been referred to as *Sāttvata-vidhi* in the *Mahābhārata*. (*Bhīṣma Parva* 46.39-40). It would be interesting to quote these lines which say that God Hari is be served and worshiped by *Brāhmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas* and *Śūdras* with markings (on their foreheads etc.) while remaining engaged in their social and family duties. They should follow the procedure which is preached by Saṃkarṣana at the end of the *Dvāpara* age and the beginning of *Kaliyuga* and which is called *Sāttvata-vidhi*:

ब्राह्मणैः क्षत्रियैर्वैश्यैः शूद्रैश्च कृतलक्षणैः ।
अर्चनीयश्च सेव्यश्च नित्ययुक्तैः स्वकर्मसु ।
सात्त्वतं विधिमास्थाय गीतः संकर्षणेन यः ।
द्वापरस्य युगस्यान्ते आदौ कलियुगस्य च ॥

Here the word *Sāttvata-vidhi* deserves attention. Sāttvatas were a *Kṣatriya* tribe who lived in and around Mathurā and Kṛṣṇa also belonged to their clan. Many of them might have been mercenaries. Kṛṣṇa had a well trained army of the Sāttvatas at his disposal according to the testimony of the MBH. which he placed at the disposal of Duryodhana in the MBH. war, who had chosen to opt for the army of Kṛṣṇa instead of Kṛṣṇa self. *'Nityayuktaiḥ svakarmasu'* reminds one of the teaching of Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhagavadagīta* and distinguishes it from the Vaikhānasas who lived away from 'the society shirking and giving up their duties towards the society and the family. It is, further, not surprising that the oldest or one of the oldest work (Saṁhitā) of the *Pāñcarātra* is called *Sāttvata Saṃhitā*. The mention of the preaching of the *vidhi* at the time of the beginning of *Kaliyuga* indicates that it was a comparatively new school of thought (and so it really was, in comparison to Vaikhānasa) otherwise if Indian authors want to emphasise the antiquity of a thought, they start with *Kṛta-yuga*!

The traditional explanation of the word *'Sāttvata'* is however 'the one who knows *sat*, the ultimate Reality, i.e. *'Brahman'*: सद्-ब्रह्म, तद्धन्तः महाभागवताः सात्त्वताः तेषां शास्त्रम् ।

Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa's character as described in the MBH. and *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* is beset with a number of superhuman and supernatural traits. These works are products of an age when He had already become object of adoration. But there may not be any doubt that such an important person as Him really and historically existed. Perhaps we can approximately date him also on the basis of the marine archaeology based on the excavations at Dwārkā, which proves the existence of the city up to 13th century BCE when it was finally inundated. He is mentioned by name in the *Chāndogya* Upaniṣad And some of the characters of the MBH. (e.g. Parīkṣita and Janmejaya) find mention in the ŚB. Due to his very important political, social and perhaps religious roles for his times he was endowed with many superhuman characteristics and made object of Hero-worship - as noticed by Pāṇini - along with some other members of his family. He may not have been considered as an incarnation of Viṣṇu from the very beginning. The Sāttvatas, as we have seen, were householders and worshippers of the personal form of one single Supreme Being whom they called *'Bhāgavat'*, just as Heliodoros did. Under the influence of Hero worship and with the increasing deification of Kṛṣṇa, however, his patronym Vāsudeva (son of Vāsudeva) came to be associated with this Supreme Being *(Bhāgavat)* whose incarnation he came to be believed.

The word was very appropriate for describing the Supreme Being since the root √*vas* primarily means "to shine" (besides 'to live') and word can be interpreted as referring to the lustrous *tejomaya* character of the Supreme deity on the one hand and can also be interpreted as the one who lives everywhere, even in the tiniest part of the word : *Vāsanād vāsudevasya vyāpitam bhuvantrayam* (Viṣ. Pur.), or the one in whom everyone and everything is placed (*vasatyasmin sarvaṃ*). Association of the names of other relatives of Kṛṣṇa especially of Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha with different manifestations/forms or aspects of this Supreme Being followed, but did not remain limited to these only and these names were used to denote the various constituents of the body of an individual too. According to this microcosmic association, Vāsudeva is pure consciousness, Saṃkarṣaṇa the individual bound soul or jīva, Pradyumna the *manas* (organ of thinking) or *buddhi* and Aniruddha - the *ahaṃkāra.* The influence of Sāṃkhya is quite explicit here from which the Vaiṣṇava schools (as well as Vedānta) could never free themselves completely ! But at cosmic level Vāsudeva is *Parabrahma* - the highest, transcendental impersonal Supreme Being (cf. यस्माद् सम्यक् परब्रह्म वासुदेवाख्यमव्ययम् । Pauṣkara38.29, 30). From him emanates Saṃkarṣaṇa, from whom rises Pradyumna who in turn then produces Aniruddha from himself.

Of these to Saṃkarṣaṇa which means "the one who pulls together" is assigned the function of the *laya* or destruction of the world and of bringing back to its original unmanifest form. In other words, he performs very much the same function which

Śiva is assigned in the Purāṇic works; Pradyumna in the *Bhāgavat Purāṇa* is said to be a re-incarnation of Kāma - the god of love burnt by Śiva - and is thus naturally associated with the activity of creation. He performs the function of god Brahmā, the *Prajāpati* and creates the world; Aniruddha - the unobstructed and unchecked one, supports and sustains the creation - performing the original function of Purāṇic Viṣṇu, It is he who assumes various incarnations for the sake of suffering humanity. These four forms or aspects of God are termed as *Vyūha*- i.e. 'an organised group'.

The theory of *vyūha* is characteristic of *Pāñcarātra* and distinguishes it from all other schools. According to some texts between Para Vāsudeva and Saṃkarṣaṇa there is also a personal form of Vāsudeva called simply 'Vāsudeva' or *'vyūha-vāsudeva'* whom prayers and worship etc. are addressed and directed to. These four manifestations of the Supreme Being are brought into association with a number of other phenomena and aspects too like e.g. the four states of consciousness *jāgrata, svapna, suṣupti* and *turīya* and many others. However these four manifestations are considered to be basically only one in substance which is known as *'Caturātmya'* principle of the *Pāñcarātra*.

This *vyūha*-theory is also made part of yet another conglomerate of the Pāñcarātra (system) which has a much bigger scope and which consists of five limbs, strengthening again the *'fivefoldness'* of *Pāñcarātra*. This is a group of the five forms *(rūpa)* of Vāsudeva in which he exists in this universe. These are *Para* (transcendental), *Vyūha* (the four fold manifestation for creating maintaining and destroying the creation) *Vibhava*. (=glory, special powers) which denotes his ten main descents or a incarnations and myriads of other *Aṃśāvatāras* (partial incarnations), *Antaryāmin,* the form in which he is penetrated in the whole universe and controls it from within, and the last one which is *Arcā* or the Image, in which he resides and becomes an object of worship. For *Pāñcarātrins* the image of Viṣṇu is not simply a replica of the personality of god but a part of God himself since the divine effulgence of god has been invoked inside the image and has been made to reside there permanently. Worship of god in the *Arcā* form has a very great significance in the *Pāñcarātrins*. An image pleases the eyes, heart and mind of the beholder and generates love and devotion towards God which makes God easily accessible to him:

चक्षुशः प्रीतिकर्णात् मनसो हृदसय च ।
प्रीत्या सञ्जायते भक्तिर्भक्तस्य सुलभो हरिः ।।

Personal god of the Pāñcarātrins (who is oft referred to with the word *Brāhmaṇ* as well but more frequently as *bhagvān*) is endowed with six basic qualities/characteristics: They are *Jñāna, Aiśvarya, Śakti, Bala, Vīrya* and *Tejas*. These characteristics have been very clearly defined and explained in the *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*. *Jñāna* is foremost of all qualities, it also makes up the character of Bhagavān. It is non-inert, eternal, indestructible, can pervade every object and is identical with Self. The power to be the Agent of everything is *Śakti*. Strength is the quality marked by absence of exertion (*śramahāni*) while being ever engaged in work. *Aiśvarya* is sovereignity, non-dependence on any other means, *vīrya* (virility) is the quality not to be effected mentally or physically through the material objects and their shortcomings. *Tejas* or brilliance/lustre is the capacity of being omnipotent. All basic texts of *Pāñcarātra* like *Lakṣmī-tantra, Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā* and *Pādma-Saṁhitā*. describe God as *śāḍguṇya-vigraha*.

Śrī or *Śakti* also plays a very important role in the *Pāñcarātra,* She is the Will of god and has no existence apart from him, nor does Nārāyaṇa/Vāsudeva exists without his *Śakti* because it is she who performs all the functions of Nārāyaṇa-Vāsudeva. *Śakti* possesses five functions which are Creation *(sṛṣti),* Maintenance *(sthiti),* Dissolution *(laya)* Disappearance *(tirobhāva)* and Favour or Grace *(anugraha)*. *Trirobhāva* is the function with which the true nature of Self and God is hidden from the worldly being, much like the *Āvaraṇaśakti* of *Māyā* of Vedānta.

Anugraha, grace or favour, of God is also known as *'Śhaktipāta'*. It is the means of final liberation which is available to the worldly beings through devotion and total self surrender (*prāpatti*) to God. Sometimes *Śrī* or *Śakti* also takes pity upon the *Jīvas* afflicted with manifold sufferings due to their previous ill acts. She brings them to the right path and makes them eligible for the grace of God.

Jīva in the *Pāñcarātra* is a part of Vāsudeva whose form *(Ākāra)* and knowledge has become limited and where sovereign it has been vanished due to the *Śakti* (*Mahāmāyā*) of Viṣṇu, that is why he has become a *'Prāṇu'* (small participle) and is not capable of doing and achieving much (*kincitkarḥ, kincijñaḥ*). One needs the grace of *Śakti* to be on the right path and to achieve the favour of God.

Means of liberation are enumerated as *nīṣkāma karma* (dispassionate deeds/i.e. to perform actions with the spirit of total detachment in the light of the teachings of the *Gitā, Sāṁkhya* or proper knowledge (*samyak khyāti*) of the character of self, God, the relationship between the two etc. (much on the lines of Vedānta !). The third means is Yoga. Yogic practices as well as regular 'meditation upon the form of Vāsudeva' etc., and the final one is *prapatti* with *sarva-tyāga,* i.e. total surrender to the grace of God by giving up every other hope and every other action. It is also called *Śaraṇāgati* and has been immensely extolled by *Rāmānuja* and his follower in the system of Viśiṣṭādvaita and entails in itself all the elements of *Bhakti*. *Prapatti* however does not occur as a means of liberation in the ancient texts of *Pāñcarātra*.

The basic idea of *mokṣa* or liberation in the *Pāñcarātra* is that of *sāyujya* i.e. getting united with Viṣṇu without losing ones identity. According to *Ahirbudhnya-Saṁhitā,* the individual souls are originally of the size of a particle of dust (*trasreṇu pramāṇaḥ*), One of the texts (*Viṣṇutilaka,* 2.30.100) describes that after getting liberated they cling to the body of Viṣṇu as gems. But the most prevalent notion is that the librated souls receive the bodies, and as well as forms like Viṣṇu and become endowed with the same six qualities which distinguish Vāsudeva. They attend upon Viṣṇu and enjoy eternal and limitless bliss and do not return to the world any more.

The Pāñcarātrikas have evolved a very elaborate system of *Pūjā, Dīkṣa* and celebrations of *Utsavas* or festivals etc. which need separate treatment of the subject. They have their own *Mantras* and *Gāyatrī* which they use alternatively at the different times of worship : *Viṣṇu-gāyatrī* (नारायणाय विद्महे, वासुदेवाय धीमहि, तन्नो विष्णुः प्रचोदयात्) in the morning for Viṣṇu, *Dvādaśākṣara Mantra* (*Oṃ namo*

Vāsudevāya) during midday for Vāsudeva, and *Aṣṭākṣara Mantra* (*Oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya*) in the evening for Nārāyaṇa.

They have produced a vast literature on their ritual, philosophy and iconography etc. According to tradition, the school is said to possess 108 main *Saṁhitās* which are content-wise divided into four sections or subjects, namely *Jñāna* (Philosophy), *Kriyā* (Architecture/sculpture), *Caryā* (procedure of daily worship, and ritual of festivals) and *Yoga* (procedure of meditating upon God) respectively.

The oldest of the *Pāñcarātra-Saṃhitās* are *Sāttvata*, *Pauṣkara* and *Jayā* and the *Īśvara, Pārameśvara,* and *Pādma* are considered to be a kind of later versions of these three.

Of these the *Iśvarasaṁhitā* is used in the great temple at Melkote (founded by Rāmānuja), *Pārameśvara* at *Śrīraṅgam, Jayā* at *Kāñcīpuram* and the *Pādma* in most of the other Vaiṣṇava temples. However the younger *Saṁhitās* for their content are not totally dependent upon the older ones, nor exclusively or particularly on any one of these *Saṁhitās*. They add new material, borrowed from other sources as well and also take into account the minor changes in the ritual and practices etc. which have taken place in the time gap between the older ones and their new recast versions.

THE ELEMENTS OF DRAMA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE *NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA*

Siddhartha Singh*

Abstract: The *Nāṭyaśāstra,* or the science of dramaturgy and kindred art, introduced by sage Bharata is a representative text of Indian culture. It is often referred to by terms like *Nāṭyaveda* and *Gāndharvaveda*. Furthermore, it is also a compendium of theories and practices of a variety of art and knowledge systems and structures, which are merged into a comprehensive whole. Created by Brahmā, on the special requisition of the smaller gods, the *Nāṭya* was made accessible to all the *varṇas* including *Śūdra*, who were prohibited from listening to (and learning from) the Vedas. Bharata postulates theories of drama, music, dance, and poetry, the making of the theatre, the concept of *rasa*, and the mimetic role of drama, etc. Comparative in scope, the present paper shall explore and analyze Bharata's enumeration of the elements of drama, which successfully broke the barriers of class structure in a time when it had acquired a rigid form.

Keywords: *Vāda, Rasa, Bhāva, Abhinaya, Dharmīs, Vṛttis, Pravṛtti, Svarasa, Ātodyas, Gāna, Varṇa.*

Nāṭyaśāstra is a text of drama, which includes various art forms like dance, enacting, and music. This text is based on the practice of various folk forms. We do not know over how many years these forms developed, but certainly, it is based on long theatrical practices that survived and were passed on to several generations through oral traditions. It is often referred to as an encyclopedia of *Kāvya* (literally literature: both *Dṛśya Kāvya*: visible poetry: and *Śravya Kāvya*:

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 193, Vol. 72, 2023, pp. 19-42.

* Department of English, Sri JNMPG College, Lucknow, UP, India, 226004, Email: siddhartha.singh8@gmail.com, ORCID-ID. 0000-0002-4810-4314

audible poetry) and *Kalā* (art). Bharata[1] uses all the preexisting arts, sciences, philosophies, yogic practices, etc. to make them into quite another whole. *Nāṭyaśāstra* categorically says that it had made efforts to take all the knowledge to be its province. Radhavallabh Tripathi's comment is worth citing here: "Bharatamuni stands as a Vyāsa in the Indian theatrical universe and like Vyāsa his *Nāṭyaśāstra* has remained with us as a *Saṁhitā* (compendium) with a systematic presentation of the conceptual framework as well as the theories of practices of theatre…" (2014,1) Bharata describes it as a *Saṅgraha Grantha*, a collection, in which details of grammar, *śilpa* (arts and crafts like painting) and many other subjects are abbreviated and put together in various *Sūtras* and their commentaries. (*Nāṭyaśāstra* VI.6-7) (Hence forth *NS* and the quotations shall be from N. P. Unni's translation)

Nāṭyaśāstra is written in the style of Purāṇas (Mishra 1988, 17) and *Vāda* is reflected in its conceptual framework as it is structured in the form of dialogue; it "starts with a debate and ends in the resolution of another debate." (Radhavallabh 2016, 239) This Ocean of knowledge, in which *Nāṭya* is studied as *prayoga,* (experiment/performance) is accompanied by a gamut of theoretical formulations spelled out by Bharata in the form of aphorisms and their traditional expositions. These formulations are in "the series of replies to questions and counter questions." (*Ibid.*) Bharata considers *Nāṭya* as *prayoga* because the success of performance depends not on one person, but is possible only with the collective effort of the troupe of theatre artists. Bharata is keenly aware of the various formulations and he deals with them in a scholarly manner. The elements of drama as enumerated by Bharata, are (1) *Rasa,* (2) *Bhāva* (emotions), (3) *Abhinaya* (representation by gestures), (4) *Dharmīs* (rules of dramatic representation), (5) *Vṛttis* (modes of human behavior), (6) *Pravṛtti* (socio-behavioral pattern of people from different regions of India), (7) *Siddhi* (achievement), (8) *Svaras* (notes), (9) *Ātodyas* (instrumental music), (10) *Gāna* (song), (11) and *Maṇḍapa* (the stage). Here two elements *Siddhi* and *Maṇḍapa* are dropped from the present analysis as they are neither on-stage activities, nor are they off-stage helping activities (like example musical assistance). *Siddhi* or the success in a dramatic performance is to be ascertained from the reaction of the spectators, and the construction of stage is an area of architecture.

---

[1] The word Bharata was synonymous with *Naṭa* or actor. The general belief is that there might be several Bharatas over a period of time who kept on reforming the text with their expertise.

Rasa and *Bhāva*:

The word *Nāṭya* is often translated as 'drama' and has similarities with those of the Greeks. *Nāṭya* in *Nāṭyaśāstra* is used in both senses. First in its original meaning which is derived from the word *Naṭa*, which means actor. The *Ṛgveda*, *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* and *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* use terms like 'Bharata' in the sense of *Naṭa* who is often referred to as Nāṭaka, Bharata, Cāraṇa, Kuśilava, Śailūṣa etc. Secondly, it is also an art of dramaturgy, in which visible poetry is presented through enactment with the help of several dramatic elements. Bharata makes a distinction "between drama as theatre and drama as a totality of composition that includes the reading experience" (Kapoor 2006, 146).

Though Bharata was not the propounder of the concept of *Rasa* and *Bhāva*— he inherited these concepts and variations of *rasa* and *bhāva*, in general as well as associated with dramatic performance, from his predecessors— he was the first *ācārya* to formulate it into a theory of poetics in accordance with dramatic performance. Bharata's treatment of *Rasa* presupposes a tradition where the *rasas*[2] were associated with dramatic performance. His usages like "*aṣṭunāṭyarasāhsmṛtāh*",v "*tasmānnāṭyarasaityabhivyākhyātāhi*", "*āsvādyanti-manasāityabhivyākhyātāhsmṛtāh*"[1] etc. support this view. (Unni 2014, 179)

---

2. Unni and other translators use sentiments, taste, flavor, or aesthetic bliss instead of *rasas*. This is one of those technical Sanskrit terms, which is untranslatable; thus, the need of the hour is to Sanskritize English; hence I have used several original terms (all are well explained) in this paper.

3. These Sanskrit phrases need to be elaborated here: "*aṣṭunāṭyarasāhsmṛtāh*" means "there are eight *rasas* remembered in Dramatics," "*tasmānnāṭyarasaityabhivyākhyātāhi*" stands for "thus rasas of dramatics are being explained," and "*āsvādyantimanasāityabhivyākhyātāhsmṛtāh,*" means "*sahṛdayas* taste *rasa* within their *manas* which have been explained."

Bharata defines and classifies each *rasa* and substantiates a theory of *Rasa* (state of being) and *Bhāva* (mood). There are eight *rasas* and their corresponding *Sthāyībhāvas* (permanent moods); *Śṛṅgāra* (the Erotic), *Hāsya* (the Comic), *Karuṇa* (the Pathetic), *Raudra* (the Furious), *Vīra* (the Heroic), *Bhayānaka* (the Terrible), *Bībhatsa* (the Disgusting), and *Adbhuta* (the Marvellous) (*NS* VI.16). The eight permanent moods are *Rati* (love), *Hāsa* (laughter), *Śoka* (sorrow), *Krodha* (anger), *Utsāha* (enthusiasm), *Bhaya* (fear), *Jugupsā* (disgust), and *Vismaya* (wonder). According to Bharata *Śṛṅgāra*, *Raudra*, *Vīra*, and *Bībhatsa* are primary *rasas*. "They are the generating causes of the remaining four *rasas*. *Hāsya* is derived from *Śṛṅgāra*, *Karuṇa* from *Raudra*, *Adbhuta* from *Vīra,* and *Bhayānaka* from *Bībhatsa*." (Kushwaha and Mishra 2021, 73) The ninth *rasa* *Śanta* (quietistic) was added by later poeticians. (Bharata does not accept *Śanta* as a *rasa* because it is not possible to present on the stage where there is a lot of action, dance, music, song, etc. The presentation of *Śanta rasa* is possible in other visual arts like painting and sculpture). The sequence of these *rasas* is *Kāma, Artha* and *Dharma.* Bharata made *rasa* as an indispensable property of *Nāṭya*. He explains that *rasa* is achieved through a combined effect of *vibhāva* (stimulus), *anubhāva* (involuntary reaction), and *Vyabhicārībhāva* (voluntary action). (*NS* VI.34) When the question is asked "What is meant by the word *Rasa*?", Bharata replies "Because it can be relished," "Just as people who have a special liking for the food enjoy the meals prepared using different materials and spices, the scholars appreciate by their mind the *Sthāyibhāvas* (permanent moods) combined with the gestural representation of the moods. Hence, they are called the sentiments relating to dramatic performance." (*NS* VI.36-38) The focus is on the actor and, "indissociably, the character the actor is representing." (Pollock, 2016, 49) That is why they are called 'dramatic *rasas*.' Later *ācāryas*, especially Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta[4], raise, explicate and eventually extend Bharata's *rasa*-theory beyond *Nāṭya* as a conceptual tool for demarcating and discoursing all literary compositions.

---

4. Abhinavagupta's two commentaries on literature, the *Abhinavabhārtī* (on the *Nāṭyaśastra*) and *Locana* (on the *Dhvanyāloka*) are "treated as extensions of the original texts." Kapil Kapoor's scholarly article "Abhinavagupta on Bharata's Theory of *Rasa*" offers a deep examination of Abhinavagupta's exposition of Bharata theory as it emerges in the text. This distinctive article is simply a class apart.

In Bharata's conception, *rasa*[5] inosculates all the variable elements of enactment—of body, language, objects and songs, and music— different and discrete fields of aesthetic activity to produce an integral structure of *Nāṭya*. Zarrilli argued that "…*rasa* theory can function on audience experience from actors' embodiment of *bhāva* and process of aesthetic perception of the whole. In this sense, the 'seed' of the *rasa* experience is implicit in a drama and made explicit by the actors as they perform" (Zarrilli 2006, 131). The concepts of *rasa* and *bhāva* can guide our understanding of the theatrical experiences of *rasa* as well as how they are manifested in performances. Thus, Abhinavagupta defines the *rasa*-experience: "the meaning/object perceptible through enactment by a *naṭa* performer/action), illumined/constituted in plays (*nāṭaka*) and poems (*kāvya*), experienced through the non-distracted state of a one-pointed mind is called *Nāṭya*." (Kapoor 2006, 146)

The "enactment by a *naṭa*" is a prerequisite to manifest *rasa*, which constitutes the "language of the staging" (Barlingay 1981, 442) and "a theory of mimetic communication" as well (Nair 2012, 3), which is endlessly different and variable. It is experienced by the experiencer (the character in the narrative), the performer (on the stage), and the spectator. The deep influence of the theory of *rasa* can be traced to filmmakers like Satyajit Ray who had a high opinion of the "interplay of moods as expressed by various characters in a work of art" (Cardullo, 2004). Bharata is far ahead of Aristotle whose emphatic consideration of plot as the central element of drama leaves the other five elements —character, diction, thought, spectator, and song— as dispensable for drama; while for Bharata the *prayoga*, which includes every element and gives equal importance to them, is an indispensable point. Aristotle would say that "the power of tragedy is independent both of performance and of actors, and besides, the production of spectacular effects is more the province of the property-man than the playwright" (Dorsch 1965, 41). Though both the poeticians talk about drama as composite art—

---

[5] Kushwaha and Mishra in their latest book *An Introduction to the Study of Indian Poetics* offer a very comprehensible study of Bharata's theory of *rasa*. They rightly endorse the point that "*rasa* is an art construct, a stage phenomenon, which the spectators relish for its artistic presentation." (69)

> Aristotle has nothing parallel to *rasa*. The reason was that for Aristotle all art, and not just drama, was imitation— imitation of human action. Thus, though the drama was composite, it was composed of similar entities, all aiming at imitation. This was also the reason why Aristotle could pick one of the elements— the plot in the case of drama as the most characteristic, the most "essential" part of drama. For Bharata, however, not all art was *anukaraṇa*. The most prestigious forms of dance and music that he had inherited, structures from which he transposed into his theatre, were acknowledgedly non-representational arts; they did not aim at *anukaraṇa* of *lokasvabhāva* (the human condition). (Lath 1991, 3-4)

Undoubtedly the postcolonial Eurocentric theories have systematically silenced the *rasa* theory. (The recent book of Sheldon Pollock is a timely revivification of the theory of *rasa*.) Patrick Hogan, in order to reinvigorate the concept of *rasa* asserts it to be "a theory that captures something in the experience of aesthetic emotion and is thus applicable cross-culturally". (Hogan 2003, 40) Indeed Bharata is a visionary poetician who leaves a vast legacy for posterity. Had it not been for this treatise, we doubt that we would ever come across these universal concepts, which laid down not only the foundation of Indian poetics but are still applicable in various arts.

Abhinaya and Character:

No theatrics or dramaturgy in the world offers such detailed and subtle analysis and instruction of action for actors, which Bharata calls *abhinaya* (*nī* means to take or carry/achieve something + *abhi*; means 'to come face to face' or 'ascertainment' and to carry performance towards spectators). Since the objects are represented by means of gestures of the body and limbs- both main and ancillary- it is designated as '*abhinaya*'. Though Aristotle talks about imitation and forms of action and its representation to "reveal the moral purpose of the agents" (38), which can be shown by constantly acting in a particular way, he does not discuss anything about the ways, types, and nuances of acting. Bharata provides a manual for every aspect of acting. The mind-blowing description of *abhinaya* and the six subdivisions of major limbs, gestures, and movements, and minor limbs such as the eyes, eye-brows, nose, cheeks, and chin, constitute six chapters (Chapters VIII to XIII) of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Bharata instructs the actors about the actions of the head in general as well as in particular; the poses of hands (single-handed poses and poses with both the hands); five kinds of body movements of the chest, the sides, the waist, and other parts of the body; different types of *Cārī* (gait) movements involving the exercise of feet; and the aerial and earthly *Maṇḍala* movements (*Yuddha Cārīsa*) for the discharge of weapons (lit. release of missiles). Other elements of drama, especially dance, and music, both vocal and instrumental, are also a part and parcel of *Abhinaya* and compositely they create a great sign system.

Bharata's classification of *Abhinaya* comprises *Āṅgika* (bodily/gestural performance), *Vācika* (speech performance), *Āhārya* (the use of non-verbal mediums by using ornaments, costumes, make-up, and using scenes), and *Sāttvika abhinaya* (communication through the enactment of emotions which is actually a manipulation of *Bhāvas*). Bharata also lays down necessary instructions for the actors for the attainment of intelligence, strength, and physical beauty, knowledge of scriptures, various arts, voice modulation, time and tempo, and the avoidance of faults on the stage. The multifaceted concept of *Abhinaya* has taken over in our understanding of structuralism (Saussure onwards), performance studies (Schechner onwards), and recently theories of cognition (Howard Gardener). (Gupt X)

Bharata also provides a discussion of the basic types of characters, which have to be followed by the actors. Chapter XXXIV meticulously epitomizes the nature of men and women as three kinds of *prakṛti* among men and women i.e., *Uttama* (superior), *Adhama* (inferior) and *Madhyama* (middling), and four kinds of heroes in plays, viz, Gods as *Dhīroddhata* (self-controlled and vehement), Kings as *Dhīralalita* (self-controlled and sportive), chiefs of army and ministers as *Dhīrodātta* (firm and exalted), and Brahmins and merchants as *Dhīrapraśānta* (self-controlled and calm). (XXXIV 16-18); different kinds of heroines *Dhīra* (s self-controlled), *Lalita* (light-hearted), *Udāttā* (noble), and *Nibhṛta* (modest), but the actual classes are goddesses, queens, high-born women, and courtesans.

Dharmī:

Nāṭyaśāstra proposes that *Nāṭya* is a representation of the emotional states (*Bhāva*), actions, and conduct of people of the entire triple world and seven continents whether of gods or asuras. (Ch. I 107, 112, 117) The difference between dramatic theory in India —anchored in *Karma*— and Greek tragedy — focused on a tragic sense of life— "determines their respective approaches to drama. (Kushwaha 9) Bharata with a clear perception of the theatre-world relationship lays stress on a balanced combination of the elements of instruction and entertainment in the dramatic performance through a recreation of *bhava* or emotional state (*Bhāvānukirtaṇam*), (*NS* I 108-114). *Bhāvānukirtanam*, unlike mimesis, is not a replica of the world; it is an artistic imaginative recreation that strives to transform reality into a stylized form, which Bharata calls *Nāṭyadharmī* (having traits peculiar to *Nāṭya*). Bharata distinguishes two basic theatrical styles (*dharmīs*) for theatrical representations of these *bhāvas*; the *Lokadharmī* (realisticor mimetic) and the *Nāṭyadharmī*, (stylized or conventional). The function of *Nāṭyadharmī* was to stylize the *lokadharmī* ("when dramatic time and dramatic space are analogous to that of the event in real life" Kapoor 150) by incorporating all such devices and conversions which any theatre must use if it aims at representing the *lokasvabhāva* on stage. Like Aristotle's concept of imitation, which is a kind of remaking of the original; *Lokadharmī* is a realistic imitation of natural events, or in other words, factual representation on stage as is happening around us, while the conventional representation "of drama or certain *shastraic* conceptions of characters and events" (Kapoor 2006, 150) constitutes *Nāṭyadharmī* as Bharata explains in chapter XIV entitled "Divisions, Usages and Conventions,":

> The *Nāṭyadharmī* is characterized by the actions superseding the natural course of the text, extraordinary feats, mentality of a higher order, excessive emotional outbursts, and performance befitting the rules of dramaturgy with graceful movement and appropriate *Aṅgahāras*, uses of sentences having the figures of sound and sense; expressions of one's feelings in imitation of those of others, etc. If an idea or thing used by the common people is depicted as having a body and speech of its own, it is also called *Nāṭyadharmī*. When two actors speak on the stage sometimes one actor has to pretend that he has not heard it and sometimes one has to show that he had heard what has not been actually told. This also is a convention coming under the term *Nāṭyadharmī*. (*NS* XIV.74-77 831-832)

This presentation of not hearing the spoken words and hearing the unspoken word never happens in life. But in drama, such *Nāṭyadharmī* conventions add charm. Bharat goes on to define *Nāṭyadharmī* by adding every possible convention which makes drama an organic unity with grace and charm. For example, under *Nāṭyadharmī,* he adds stage representation, double role of an actor, a role of a wife by a lady who cannot be accepted as a wife in real life, graceful movements of actors, showing happiness and sorrow through gestures of limbs, representation of *itihāsa* and interpretation of Vedas on stage, the division of stage into various zones, etc. Obviously, Bharata's postulations are oriented more toward theatricality rather than textuality. He asserts that: "Drama should always be performed on the basis of *Nāṭyadharmī.* Without the accompaniment of musical instruments and gestures of the limbs the audience could not enjoy a performance" (XIV.85 833)

Vṛtti and *Itivṛtti* (Plot):

The endeavor of Bharata is to transform the *Lokadharmī* into *Nāṭyadharmī.* The "process of differential semiosis", established through *Abhinaya, dhruvā, vādya,*and *pāthya*, forms a larger whole for which he uses the term *Vṛtti* (literally "the manner of being or doing" or the style of composition), which concretizes "what is to be enacted and how." (Kapoor 2006, 150) *Vṛtti* is closely associated with *Vṛtta* (the real events, universal human conditions, and instincts or *lokasvabhāva* that could be represented on stage). Following these *bhāvas* "*Vṛtti* characterized the basic features of the scenic actions and determined the choice of practical acting devices." (Lidova 2014, 39) Kapoor substantiates the point that the "*nata* can enact only when he knows what he is to enact." (2006, 150) As Bharata gives us a myth about the origin of the *Nāṭya* at the beginning of *Nāṭyaśāstra*[6], he provides another myth about the origin of *Vṛtti* in Chapter XXII.

---

[6] In the first chapter Bharata gives a traditional legend of the divine origin of drama "*Nāṭya* was created by Brahmā" for the people "goaded by greed and avarice, and jealously and anger, [who] took to uncivilized (vulgar) way of life," with an aim to "not only teach" them "but be pleasing to eyes and ear" (Rangacharya 1996, 1). Thus *Nāṭya*, the fifth Veda was created by Brahmā, to be available to all the *varṇas*, because the conventional Vedas could not be spoken

These *vṛttis* were created by gestures, movements, and turmoil of the great emotions of Lord Viṣṇu (who slept on the serpent Śeṣa, floating on the primal Cosmic Ocean) in a fierce battle with two *asuras* Madhu and Kaitabha after they rudely awoke the Lord and challenged him for a fight. Bharata tells the interesting story of the making of these *Vṛttis*:

> The stepping of the feet of Hari on different spots of the earth caused a burden to the earth and hence *Bhāratī-vṛtti* (the verbal style) was created. In tune with the intense, and brilliant vaultings of Hari-the bearer of the ***Śārṅga*** bow-endowed with the quality of the firmness of mind, the *Sāttvatī* style was evolved. The Lord tied the locks of his hair with graceful movements of various kinds and thereupon arose the style called *Kaiśikī*. When he indulged in a hand-to-hand fight with increased anger and intense movements of feet the style called *Ārabhaṭī* was given rise to. (XXII.12-14 1032)

These *vṛttis*, created by the variegated, difficult, clear, and graceful actions are related with appropriate *rasas* and each has a character, a temper, and a savour of its own. Lath explains the association of *Vṛtti* in theatrical terms: "It was a large circle of organically associated forms which together comprised the *performance* aspect of a play, the total manner, and style of stage presentation, its overall weave, and texture" (14) *Vṛtti,* mimetic in nature had to be transformed into *Nāṭyadharmī*. These four *vṛttis*((a) *bhāratī*, i.e. verbal-duel, (b) *sāttvatī*, i.e. grand and noble deportment, (c) *Kaiśikī,* i.e. graceful and lyrical, and (d) *ārabhaṭī*, i. e. strong, energetic and violent style), and their further variations and configurations can be better understood by the following chart—

---

within the earshot of *Śudras*. (*NS* I.11-20) In the same sense that all creation is a testament to divine ingenuity, Brahmā, creator of everything, created drama as well, and this time at the request of the smaller gods. He took the text to be spoken in drama from *Ṛgveda*, *Gīta*-song from *Sāmaveda*, acting, movements, and make-up from *Yajurveda,* and *rasa* and *bhāva* from *Atharvaveda* to create the fifth Veda, a discourse of knowledge (which consists of around 6000 verses and several prose pieces and is structured into 36 chapters).

Sr. no.	*Vṛttis* and their correspon-ding *rasa*	**Verities of *Vṛttis* and their accessories**				**Associated Abhinaya**
1	***Bhāratī*** (Called in the name of Bharata; stress on words; preferred by menfolk; forbidden for women) ***Rasa***: *Bībhatsa* and *Karuṇa*	*Prarocanā*	*Āmukha*	*Vīthī*	*Prahasana*	*Vācika* or verbal *abhinaya* (Expression of speech)
		Prelude, Propitiation, Stimulant; conveys the attainment of objects	Preface (Part of the prelude where the actress, the jester, and the attendant converse with the stage manager)	Garland, Burlesque	The farce	
2	***Sāttvatī*** (Quality of the purity of mind; combined with benevolence and valour; exuding pleasure and eschewing worry) ***Rasa***: *Vīra* and *Adbhuta*	*Utthāpaka*	*Parivartta*	*Saṁlāpaka*	*Saṅghātyaka*	*Sāttvika* or emotional *abhinaya* (True expression)
		Rising up, challenge	Changing over from a particular effort	Abusive words with or without insult	Breach of the alliance for the sake of a friend	

3	***Kaiśiki*** (Spoken by well-dressed characters, having women folk,dances, and songs; amorous enjoyment) ***Rasa***: *Hāsya* and *Śṛṅgāra*	*Narma*	*Narmasphuñja*	*Narmasphoṭa*	*Narmagarbha*	*Āhārya* or non-verbal abhinaya (Costume, make-up, and scene)
		Pleasantry; ending in love and laughter; full of humorous words; devoid of valour	An outburst of affection in union; ardent love; suitable words; graceful words	The first symptom of love; endowed with different emotions	Deliberate concealing of affection by a hero endowed with qualities of intelligence, beauty, brilliance, wealth etc.	
4	***Ārabhaṭī*** (marshal movements; the bold and violent; bold heroism; deception, fraud, haughtines) ***Rasa***: Raudra and *Bhayānaka*	*Saṁkṣiptaka*	*Avapāta*	*Vastūtthāpana*	*Sampheṭa*	*Āṅgika* or physical abhinaya (Expression of the limbs)
		Compression; peculiar models; masks; peculiar dresses	Fall; activities connected with fright, jubilation, entering and departing quickly	Raising the theme; of dramatic representation of different sentiments activities of flight or its absence	Conflict with numerous battles; fights of fists; use of weapons	

(*NS* XXII.25-65 1034-1042)

Now the next question was how these *vṛttis* were to be depicted. Bharata solves the problem by explaining its counterpart, i.e. *Itivṛtti* ("this is what happened"), which is a dramatic plot. It is also known as *Vastu.*

Any *vṛtti* or *vṛttis* had to be plotted with a human story that is directed towards a desirable goal. *Itivṛtti* or dramatic plot too is *Nāṭyadharmī* —a *prayoga*—whereas a rule an action progressed from seed to fruition, must end with the attainment of its goal and the ultimate goal is to produce *rasa*. In this evocation of *lokasvabhāva,* an evocation of *rasa* is the focal point. Any *vṛtti* or *vṛttis* can evoke *rasa*, but unless and until it is not complemented by plot and action, it could be anything else except *Nāṭya*. *Vṛtti* has to function as a part of the plot, as the smallest viable structural unit, only then the recreation of the human condition can be *Nāṭyadharmī*.

Bharata calls the plot the body of drama which is divided into two parts, the principal (*Ādhikārika*) and the subsidiary (*Prāsaṅgika*). He explains that the assemblage of the acts fabricated with a view to attaining some result, which the ingenuity of the playwright plans by means of the associated characters acting in a regular manner constitute the Principal plot and the other acts and incidents mentioned for helping the main story constitute the Subsidiary plot (*NS* XXI.2-5) Bharata explains that in achieving the final results, the action must pass through five stages or *avasthās* occurring according to their due order which consists of five segments (*sandhis*). The five stages have five means of attaining objects of the Plot (*artha-prakṛti*) with a voluntary action of the hero. (*NS* XXI.6-55)

The five *avasthās* are as follows:

1. *Prārambha* or beginning a curiosity towards the attainment of an object.
2. *Prayatna* or making effort for the attainment of the Object.
3. *Prāptisambhava* or the possibility of achievement when it is suggested through the hero's mental status
4. *Niyataprāpti* denotes a surety of achievement through the removal of obstacle.
5. *Phalāgama* or the final achievement or denouement.

The five *artha-prakṛtis* are *Bīja* (seed), *Bindu* (Vital drops, contributory incident), *Patākā* (Episode or major sub-plot), *Prakarī* (Episodic incidents or minor sub-plots or stray incidents), and *Kārya* (Action or denouement).

Lastly, the five *sandhis* are *Mukha* (opening one joining *ārambha* and *bīja*), *Pratimukha* (progression; raising hopes and combining *yatna* and *bindu*), *Garbha* (development and sprouting of the Seed), *avamarśa* (Pause; situation under control, here are joined *niyatāpati* and *prakarī*), and *Nirvahaṇa* (conclusion *phalāgam* and *kārya* are combined).

Bharata concludes that these junctures vary in different types of drama. Bharata also discusses the theoretical arrangement of these junctures in addition to the subtle enumeration above. He speaks about their twenty-one special distinctions, the six-fold need and the use of the limbs of the junctures, and the sixty-four limbs or ancillaries of these junctures. This sophisticated and subtle distinction is par excellence. Bharata elaborates on the organic development of drama which starts with sprouting, then grows, and finally leads to completion. In this process, the five stages are fused into a single entity without violating their proper order to produce the desired final fruit. In some cases, justified by special reasons, "one or two junctures may be dropped." (*NS* XXI.17-18)

Pravṛttis

Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* is pan-Indian in its representation as he defines and incorporates different *pravṛttis*— the cultural specificities of language, dress, custom, and behavior of people. These *pravṛttis* are also different in terms of temper and taste and Bharata gives a broad division of four *pravṛttis* according to geographical divisions which can be better understood by the following chart:

Sr. no.	***Pravṛttis***	***Vṛttis* assigned to *pravṛttis***	**Regional expansion**
1	*Dākṣiṇātya*	*Kaiśikī*	Between the ocean in the South and Vindhya in the North; from south Orrisa to Andhra Pradesh to Maharashtra and the lower part of India

2	*Āvanti*	*Sāttvatī* and *Kaiśikī*	Ujjain as its center, the entire M. P. and Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Eastern U. P., Rajasthan, and Gujarat
3	*Odhramāgdhi*	*Bhāratī* and *Kaiśikī*[7]	Ut-Kalinga[8] means the Northern portion of Orissa close to Bengal (once upon a time under Greater Bengal), Bengal, Jharkhand, Bihar, Eastern India, Nepal
4	*Pāñcālī*	*Sāttvatī* and *Ārabhaṭī*	Present Ruhelkhand, area of Himalaya and the Gangetic region till Kashmir and the entire North of India and Pakistan

(*NS* XIV.41-53 824-826)

Bharata, through a well-schematized and well-considered performance of *pravṛttis*, induced them into *Nāṭya* with the underlying universal traits or *vṛttis*. Unlike *pravṛtti,* which is physical and regional habits and conditions, *vṛtti* is mental and universal like *rasa* and thus subsumes *pravṛtti*. It implies that *Nāṭya* depends on *vṛtti* and viable *vṛttis* are formed by putting together different arts to make it a composite whole. This composite whole becomes a part of a larger whole or in other words as Bharata intended to formulate *Nāṭya* as a grand *vṛtti* in which non-representational arts are fully transformed.

---

[7] I am grateful to Mahua Mukherjee, professor of Dance, Department of Dance at the Center for Studies in Dance forms of Bengal, Rabindra Bharat University, Kolkata for her discussion regarding the appropriate *Vṛtti* for *Odhramāgdhi*. In Unni's translation, it was not clear and Rangacharya ascribes *Bhāratī* and *Ārabhaṭī* (114) *Vṛtti* for *Odhramāgdhi*. She objected that "Ārabhaṭī is not appropriate. Because Kalhana's *Rājataṅgiṇī* gives the reference that in Bengal *Lāsya* is very strong" and *Lāsya* is associated with *Kaiśikī*. This was verified by the translation of Ghosh as well as the Bangla translation of Sureshchandra Bandyopadhyay.

[8] Ut-Kalinga is not mentioned in Unni's translation. Again I acknowledge Professor Mahua Mukherjee's help as she provided the right interpretation through the translations of Ghosh and Sureshchandra Bandyopadhyay. Kalinga is under *Dākṣiṇātya Pravṛtti*. In the case of *Oudramagadhi*, it is Ut (Kalinga), which means north of Orrisa.

Music and Dance

Bharata's idea of drama as composite art is now well translated into modern films, which make very effective use of non-representational arts like dance and music. Bharata is several steps ahead of Aristotle to transform the existing structures of dance and music (as per the requirement of drama) with other representational arts into a single separate whole. This structural-aesthetic unity in *Nāṭya* is acquired through *rasa* which in Bharata's scheme remains incomplete without song and music: "The producers should employ music, instruments, and action pertaining to different themes in a sequence like *Alātcakra* (a blazing torch swung around)." (*NS* XXVIII 7 1208) The metaphor of *Alātcakra* is significant here. This flaming torch is rotated in such a way as it appears an unbroken circle of fire. The implication, here, is that though *Nāṭya* is a mixture of distinct activities, they have to be skillfully brought together into a single equilibrium so that the mind of the audience perceives them as one single object. Bharata knew it too well that music embellishes drama and dance makes acting more appealing, while neither are imitations of human action nor conditions still they heighten the theatrical effects.

Bharata does not stop here. He is at pains to express how the existing structures of music, dance, and the art of language have to be made suitable to integrate them with other structures into the vast scheme of *Nāṭya*. If Panini, the greatest philologist, and grammarian, propounded rules of linguistics, syntax, semantics, and right articulation, Bharata transformed these rules as per the requirement of *Nāṭya*. Dramatic speech requires different cadences according to *bhāvas*, modulation, pitch, and evocative articulation of speech, hence it is different from *pāthya* (reading out the script). Bharata calls this language of evocation *Kaku*; which is different from the language of information.

Bharata bestows detailed attention to the use of music in *Nāṭya*. He draws inspiration from an ancient articulated form of music— the long tradition of *Gāndharvas,* the class of divine music. *Gāndharva*, very formal and non-representational in nature, was analogous to modern *drupada* or *khyāla*. It consisted of patterns of scales(*svara*), associated with musical meter (*tāla*) and sung to *pada* (lyric or the sung text). *Pada* was subservient to *svara* and *tāla* and was used to elaborate note sequence (*tāna*) through various registers—low, medium, high(*sthāna*), yodel (*ālāp*), and syllables, where musical content tends to overpower the linguistic purport totally. Bharata transformed *gāndharva*, in spirit and form, into *gāna* or *Dhruvā* —theatrical songs. The elements of *gāndharva* in its purest form are of no use in *Nāṭya*, because *pada* or the linguistic purport in *gāndharva* does not intend to convey meanings; thus, they are not able to express any sentiment or evoke *rasa*. Unlike *gāndharva* where *pada* is auxiliary to *svara*(scales) and *tāla* (musical meter), the matter in the case of *Dhruvā* is topsy-turvy where *svara* (scales) and *tāla* are aides to *pada;* "they were there to lend the power of melody and rhythm to the sentiments expressed in the sung text." (Lath 8) In chapter XXXII (1-47) Bharata gives a detailed account of how the forms of *gāndharva* can be converted to *Dhruvā* (where poetry and music become fused into one) through necessitated structural changes. This chapter is an amazing commentary on this topic comprising 473 stanzas. He further gives a subtle classification of *Dhruvā* into five kinds, depending upon the occasion of their use:

> The *Dhruvā* song during the entrance of a character is *Prāveśikī* and that song during the exit is called *Naiṣkramikī*. The *Ākṣepikī* is made use of in *Vilaṁbita* or *Drutalaya* in changing a sequence. To smoothen the sentiment which is suddenly shifted *Prāsādikī* is used. The *Antarādhruvā* is used during the gaps in between occasions of sorrow, changing the dress, and arranging the ornaments. (*NS* XXXII 324-328 1452)

No theory of drama in the world offers such a systematic theory of transformation of non-representational arts into drama. Bharata gives several rules and all the rules are "boiled down to a single principle: get the right tune to suit the song in the given context . . . as the *rasa* dictates." (Lath 1991, 9) There is nothing comparable to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the West. Artaud, who was indirectly influenced by the *Nāṭyaśāstra* via the performances of Balinese theatre, praises the Eastern theatre and laments that the western theatre could never grasp "this gestured metaphysics nor known how to make use of music for so direct, so concrete, dramatic purposes." (Bansat-Boudon 2014, 56) A Western theory is unable to provide Artaud with a vision of total theatre, and he openly condemns Western theories that mostly remain theories of tragedies and comedies. Even Brecht "in his search for artistic impulse, which bridged centuries and continents, did not fail to notice the attractions of Indian Classical drama". (Lutze 2000, 101)

Similar issues of transforming and incorporating *nṛtta* (dance) — an ancient well-schematized formal non-representational art— into the larger scheme of *Nāṭya* were dexterously tackled by Bharata. God Śiva instructed his disciple sage Taṇḍu to introduce the manual of dance (hence called *tāṇḍava*)[9] which could be fused with songs. Initially incorporated into *Nāṭya* (*NS* chapter IV) as part of its prologue (*pūrvaraṅga*), *nṛtta* later became an integral part of *Nāṭya* through *abhinaya*. By enriching the "language of gestures" *nṛtta* adds another dimension to *anukaraṇa*-based *abhinaya*, especially *āngikābhinaya* (physical activity derived from the *Tāṇḍava* dance). Its amalgamation into *abhinaya* not only imparts extra grace to bodily action and expressions but also heightens and impregnates ordinary gestures (borrowed or reproduced from *loka*) with meanings. When, subsumed with *abhinaya*, *nṛtta* not only acquires and produces meanings beyond itself, but it is also significantly re-contextualized to help to produce *rasa*.

II

This paper would be incomplete without discussing the types of drama as enumerated by Bharata. Irrespective of a happy or a sad ending as in the Western concept, Bharata in the twentieth chapter forms a disquisition on the ten varieties of plays, which Dhanika-Dhanañjaya in their treatise *Daśarūpaka* explains, are based on the ten *Rasas*.

Unlike the Greek concept of drama, Indian drama does not rely on the fictional unity of action, time, and space rather it focuses on the unity of impression

---

[9] God Śiva was shown a four-act drama (the *Ḍīma*), *Tripurādahana*, which made him happy. He conceived a dance, to be used in the rites o *Pūrvaraṅga* (Prologue), and summoned Taṇḍu to "instruct Bharata regarding the representation of *Aṅgahāra*." (*NS* IV.10-17 443-444)

(Ghosh, 2018 XLV)— the perfect rendering of *rasas*. Following are the names of ten types of plays, (1) the Nāṭaka, (2) the Prakaraṇa, (3) the Aṅka, (4) the Vyāyoga, (5) the Bhāṇa, (6) Samavakāra, (7) the Vīthī, (8) the Prahasana, (9) the Ḍīma and (10) The Īhāmṛga.

It is worthwhile to explain in brief their names, their content (*Karma*), forms, and function, followed by appropriate examples of these forms:

1) The *Nāṭaka*: The story is well known; the royal sage or *dhīrodatta* is the hero, there are supernatural elements and the rasa is either *śṛṅgāra* (love) or *vīra* (heroic). Five to ten acts in length. Example: *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, *Uttararāmacarita*.

2) The *Prakaraṇa*: The story is made up by the writer; the hero is a Brahmin or a minister or a merchant; the main rasa is *Śṛṅgāra*. Five to ten acts in length. Example: *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

3) The *Aṅka*: (Also called Utsṛṭikāṅka) well a known or not known story; the ordinary man is the hero. *Rasa* is Karūṇa (compassion). One act. Example: *Urubhaṅga* by Bhāsa.

4) The *Vyāyoga*: Well-known story, a divine being or a royal sage is the hero; rasa any except *hāsya* (mirth, laughter) or *śṛṅgāra*. One act. Examples: *The Victory of Paraśurāma*; *Madhyam Vyāyoga* by Bhāsa (*The Story of Ghaṭotkacha*).

5) The *Bhāṇa*: Story built up by the author; a rogue (only one character in his play) is the hero; the rasa is either *Śṛṅgāra* (love) or *vīra* (heroic). One act. Examples: *Ubhayābhisārika* of Vararuchi; *Padmaprabhritaka* of Śūdraka; *Dhūrta-Viṭa-saṁvāda* of Isvaradatta; and *Pada-taditaka* of Syamalika.

6) *Samavakāra*: Well-known story; gods and asuras are heroes; the principal *rasa* is *vīra*. *Three acts*. Example: *Amṛta-Maṅthana*

7) The *Vīthī*: Story built by the dramatist; one or two characters; the main *rasa* is *śṛṅgāra*. One act. Example: *Līlāvatī Vīthī* of Rāmapāṇivāda

8) The *Prahasana*: It may be either pure (*Śuddha*) or mixed (*saṅkīrṇa*). The *Prahasana* is known as *Śuddha* when it contains satire on gurus, ascetics, monks, and learned Brahmins, and abounds in jocular remarks by persons of low class. The second type is the one in which courtesans, menial servants, eunuchs, Viṭas and Dhūrtas, and unchaste women appear in immodest dress and make openly (obscene) gestures. Examples: *Bhagavadajjukam* of Bodhāyana (6th -7th century AD) and *Mattavilāsa Prahasana* by Pallava King Mahendravarman I (571– 630 CE).

9) The *Dīma*: Well-known story in four acts. Gods and asuras are heroes, six *rasa-s* (i.e. except *Śṛṅgāra* and *Hāsa*). Example:*Tripurā Dahana*.

10) The *Ihāmṛga*: Mixed story of gods and men. Man is a hero: rasa is the same as in *vyāyoga*. Four acts. Example: *Rukmaṇīharaṇa by* Vatsarāja.

V. Raghwan opines that the first two classes, *Nāṭaka* and *Prahasana* are major forms (the heroic) and the perfect ones, while the rest eight classes are minor forms (the social), and the imperfect ones. (17) The scope of this paper does not allow for many details, but modern Indian drama still owes a lot to these styles. It is not so much the story of the hero or the heroine, but the construction of the story should be considered important. Bharata's emphasis is that a drama and a theatrical performance must primarily be a work of art to entertain and then anything else to instruct.

III

Bharata is a unique poetician to devise *Nāṭya* as a grand structure woven out of several self-contained atomic structures of different systems, whether representational or non-representational. To our surprise, every atomic structure is properly balanced by a centripetal force. By structural transformation, these structures lose their individual statuses to merge integrally into a grand structure; the grandest possible representation of the world in art. As a manual for acting its relevance has been acknowledged by scholars and practitioners from India and abroad. The importance and perpetual contribution of *Nāṭyaśāstra* are to lay down a solid foundation of Indian classical music and dance. It is also a treatise on vocal and instrumental music and dance. He laid down the traditions of musical meters and various types of musical instruments and provided theories of these arts for a perfect *prayoga*. These theories are still in practice in their purest forms in various forms of Indian classical dances and music. Further, had it not been exposed by Bharata, we don't know whether we would ever come across the concept of *rasas*. Not only did he make us aware of various forms of *rasas* and *bhāvas*, but also proposed a wonderful analysis of them. There was a time when these concepts reigned supreme over all Indian arts and poetics. Be it any form of art, every disciple had to learn the two chapters of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Indian sculpture is still rich in the exposition of *bhāvas*.

Bharata's concern was not just an idea of demonstration but of a successful experiment; his aim was neither to present shows of jugglery nor to demonstrate shows of miracles. His aim was to upgrade, educate, and make that class of people cultured through entertainment, who were marginalized and had no access to the wisdom of Vedas. Despite being the oldest and most important texts of wisdom, Vedas failed to establish emotional and intellectual unity because they were biracial, and they drew an unfathomable chasm between the people of the upper castes and the *Śudras*. Further, they were religious texts written in an elevated sanctified language, and therefore adorable for the people of an elevated class; hence unreachable for the marginalized section of society. Even Panini's Sanskrit grammar, which was more influential in stringing people together, put a barrier of language for ordinary folks, who were neither concerned with Vedic Sanskrit nor with its grammar. In this context, the contribution of *Nāṭyaśāstra* to violating the orders of caste, creed, and class can be considered a great socialist stance. *Nāṭyaśāstra* produced theory and praxis of art to entertain *loka*, which was all-inclusive, be it kings or their subjects, *ācāryas* or their disciples, aristocrats or ordinary folks, etc. While the Vedic tradition created a division between several *varṇas* in the course of time, *Nāṭyaśāstra* united people of all *varṇas* and *pravṛttis*. Bharata's contribution is extraordinary in strengthening the creative aspects of the nation. In creating the fifth Veda in the time of the harsh *varṇa*-system, *Nāṭyaśāstra* neither criticized the upper castes nor did it show any adverse conduct toward the lower class (the only exception was the curse by the sages which helped the descent of *nāṭya* in this world). It was a successful movement of arts against the rigid *varṇa*-system. The majestic charm of the artistic wealth of this *Śāstra* still attracts people all over the world. The modern Indian theatre, be it various folk forms or classical forms, with all its modernity is deeply enrooted in the tradition of *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Even the dance styles mentioned by Bharata (*lāsya* which is a soft and graceful style, said to be created by Goddess Parvati, and *tāṇḍava*, the powerful and aggressive style) are still in use in theatre as well as in movies. No Indian movie can be successful without the use of song and music. Even the long history of colonialism could not obliterate old theatrical practices of India (the performances of village *Rāmalīlās* and *Rāsalīlās* are good examples of the survival of these old practices) though it took a lot of time to rediscover the text. This presence of the past in various forms is what Dharwadker terms the "cultural recursiveness" of Modern Indian theatre:

> The recursive presence of the past is evident everywhere in contemporary Indian theatre – in the cultural-nationalist insistence on the "long duree" of Indian theatre history, in the resurgence of the *Nāṭaka* form, in the ubiquitous of myth, history, and folklore, and in definitions of authenticity and Indianness that valorize precolonial traditions of aesthetics and performance. (XC)

It's a *Śāstra*, which is organic, living, and open for posterity to add experiments and ideas of the time. Like Vedas, it is not a closed system with a fixed set of coded ideas and instructions.

References:

1. Aristotle. 1965. *On the Art of Poetry*. Translated by T.S. Dorsch. Penguin Classic.
2. Bansat-Boudon, and Lyne. 2014. "Artaud's Poetics or Nāṭyaśāstra and Post-modern Theatre, in Tripathi Radhavallabh. Nāṭyaśāstra in the Modern World: *Proceedings of the World Sanskrit Conference." Vol.III*, : D.K. Printworld. New Delhi, 51-62.
3. Barlingay, S.S. 1981. "What Did Bharata Mean By Rasa ?" *Indian Philosophical Quarterly* VIII. http://www.unipune.ac.in/snc/cssh/ipq/english/IPQ/6-10%20volumes/08%2004/PDF/8-4-2.pdf.

4. Cardullo, B. 2011. "Another Interview with Satyajit Ray-1 Revisiting Satyajit Ray: an interview with a Cinema Master." Accessed January 25. <http://raylifeandwork.blogspot.com/2011/01/another-interview-with-satyajit-ray-.html.>.

5. Dharwadker, Aparna Bhargava. 2019. *A Poetics of Modernity: Indian Theatre Theory, 1850 to the Present.* : Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

6. Ghosh, Manmohan. 2018. *The Nāṭya-śāstra Ascribed to Bharata Muni.* Second Edition (1967). Vols.I , Chapter I-XXVII. : Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi.

7. Gupt, B. 1994. *Dramatic Concepts Greek and Indian: Study in Poetics and the Nāṭyaśāstra.* : D.K. Print World, New Delhi.

8. Hogan, P. 2003. "Rasa Theory and Dharma Theory: From The Home and the World to Bandit Queen," *Quarterly Review of Film and Video*, 20(1), 37–52. Published online: 20 Sep 2012, available at doi: 10.1080/10509208.2003.10555039

9. Kapoor, Kapil. 2006. "Abhinavagupta on Bharata's Theory of Rasa." *Evam* 144-183.

10. Kushwaha, M.S. 2000. *"Indian and Western theories of drama: An Introductory Note", in Dramatic Theory and Practice: Indian and Western.* Edited by M.S. Kushwaha. : Creative Books, New Delhi.

11. — and Sanjay Mishra. 2021. *An Introduction to the Study of Indian Poetics.* : D.K. Printworld, Delhi.

12. Lath, Mukund. 1991. *The Making of the Nāṭyaśāstra: A Structural Approach, New Perspective on Indian Poetics.* Edited by M. S. Kushwaha. : Agro Publication House, Lucknow 1-32.

13. Lidova, Natalia. 2014. ""The Concept of Vṛtti in Nāṭyaśāstra," Proceeding of the 15th World Sanskrit Conference." Edited by Radhavallabh Tripathi. *Special Pannel on Nāṭyaśāstra: Nāṭyaśāstra In the Modern World.* : D.K. Print World, Delhi.

14. Lutze, and Lothar Lutze. 2000. *"Indian classical drama in the light of Bertolt Brecht's Dramatic Theory and Practice", Dramatic Theory and Practice: Indian and Western.* Edited by M. S. Kushwaha. : Creative Books, New Delhi.
15. Mishra, Dr. Brajvallabh. 1988. *Bharata Aur Unka Nāṭyaśāstra (Bharata and his Nāṭyaśāstra).* : North Central Zone Cultural Centre, Allahabad.
16. Nair, S. 2012. "Interview with Ralph Yarrow, Studies in South Asian Film & Media, 4(2)." Interview, 123-129. doi:10.1386/safm.4.2.123_7.
17. Pollock, Sheldon. 2016. *The Basis Of Rasa Theory in Drama, A Rasa Reader: Classical Indian Aesthetics.* Edited by Sheldon Pollock. Translated by Sheldon Pollock. : Permanent Black, Ranikhet.
18. Raghwan, V. 2004. *Sanskrit Drama and Performance, Sangeet Natak.* Vol. XXXVIII. 2 vols. https://archive.org/details/dli.ministry.22346.
19. Rangacharya, Adya. 1966. *The Nāṭyaśāstra.* : Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, Delhi.
20. —. 1996. *Introduction to Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra.* : Popular Prakashan, Bombay.
21. Tripathi, Radhavallabh. 2014. "Nāṭyaśāstra in the Modern World: Proceedings of the World Sanskrit Conference." Vol. III : D.K. Print World, New Delhi.
22. —. 2016. *Vāda in theory and Practice.* : IIAS Shimla & D.K. Print World, New Delhi
23. Unni, N.P. 2014. *Nāṭyaśāstra.* Vols. I-IV .: NBBC Publishers & Distributor, Delhi.
24. Zarrilli, P. 2006. "Imperial Theatre: Pleasure, power and aesthetics", in Zarrilli, P., McConachie, B., Williams, G. J., and Sorgenfrei, C. F. (eds.) *Theatre Histories: An Introduction.* : Routledge, 99–148, New York.

S. D. JOSHI'S POLICY FOR IC ANALYSIS IN ENCYCLOPAEDIC DICTIONARY OF SANSKRIT ON HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES

Prasad Bhide*

Malhar Kulkarni†

Abstract: Encyclopedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles is a gigantic dictionary project undertaken by Deccan College, Pune. The corpus for this project includes around 1580 texts in Sanskrit. The database for the dictionary is in the form of more than twelve millions slips on which attested words have been recorded. Around 1 million slips have already found a place in ten published volumes in the form of lexical entries. The latest publication of the project is volume 10.6 / fascicle 33. Each lexeme in the Dictionary is transliterated in roman script wherein morphemes are separated by means of Immediate Constitute (IC) Analysis. IC analysis is a morphological analysis of language that identifies the elements involved in a structure and their structural order. It reveals peculiarities of word formation process of a language.

An earlier publication of current authors (2013) deals with 'IC Analysis in the first and eighth volume (latest publication then) of the project which attempted to identify inconsistencies in the actual analysis of lexemes. In another publication (2014) titled 'IC analysis in Modern Sanskrit Lexicography (Post 17th Century)', we have studied underlying principles of morpheme segmentation in some other dictionaries. The current paper focuses on the volumes edited by S. D. Joshi (Volume 3.2 to 5.2). IC analysis done by S.D. Joshi is notably different from the analysis done in

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 193, Vol. 72, 2023, pp. 43-62.

* K.J. Somaiya College of Arts & Commerce, Vidyavihar (W), Mumbai-77

† Dept. of Humanities & Social Sciences, I.I.T. Bombay, Powai Mumbai-77-400076, M: 8369752472,Email : malhar@hss.iitb.ac.in

other volumes. For instance, the lexeme "*aniṣṭaphalada* (adj.)" meaning 'yielding an undesirable result' has been analyzed by S. D. Joshi as "[*aniṣṭaphalad – a*]" (Page 2598, Volume V). The segment 'a'(as is shown here) is not considered as an immediate constituent in any other volume even in the similar lexical entries like "*akṣayaphalada*" meaning 'yielding imperishable or undiminishing reward' which has been analyzed as "[*akṣayaphala - da*]" (Page 180, Volume I). The constituent 'a' (ka) is prescribed as a *kṛdanta* affix in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and is applied in the sense of an agent. It forms an important part of the derivation process. We find that the analysis in other volumes is based solely on the semantic aspect of the lexical entry. S.D. Joshi also considers the derivation process as stated in Pāṇini's system along with the sense of the word while giving IC cut. So it is apt to state that the analysis done by S.D. Joshi is not only different in terms of policy employed for analysis but also in terms of theoretical undercurrents that have shaped his policy. This necessitates a separate study of his policy for IC analysis.

In this paper, we have discussed the treatment of following five cases - proper nouns, secondary derivations or *taddhita* forms ending in *-tā* & *-tva* suffixes, verbal roots with *upasarga* & nouns with a prefix and *upapada* compounds. There is scope for further study of other categories of lexemes.

Keywords: compounds, constituents, grammar, lexicon, immediate constituent cut

1. Introduction:

1.0. As a project, we aim to formulate certain general principles for segmentation in Sanskrit. This paper is a part of the project and it attempts to study the procedure employed for IC analysis in EDSHP. EDSHP- a gigantic dictionary project of Sanskrit lexicon published its first volume in 1976. Ten volumes (thirty-three fascicles) have been published in last four decades. EDSHP gives IC analysis of each lexeme along with its roman transliteration. We identified five other dictionaries created in 19th& early 20th century that have done segmentation of a lexeme which is similar to IC analysis. Interestingly, these dictionaries precede Bloomfield's celebrated work *Language* (1932) in which he theorized the procedure for IC analysis. We undertook the study of IC analysis done in these five Sanskrit Bilingual dictionaries (Bhide and Kulkarni, 2014) along with the first and eighth (latest publication then) volume of EDSHP (Bhide and Kulkarni 2013). The current paper takes for its study a volume of EDSHP edited by S.D. Joshi. We start by explaining the purpose behind choosing this volume. We have taken into consideration first three phases of this project. The first phase is of those volumes in which A. M. Ghatage was the general editor (Volume I- III: 1.1 – 3.1). The second phase includes volumes partly edited by S.D. Joshi (Volume III – V: 3.2 – 5.2) and in the third phase, there are volumes of this dictionary edited by V.P. Bhatt, (Volume VI – IX: 6.1 – 9.3).[1] The earlier paper presented in World Sanskrit Conference 2012 (*Ibid*) focused on IC analysis in EDSHP (Volume I & volume VIII which is the last publication of third phase) Thus, the paper covers the first and third phase of the project. In this paper, the lexical entries taken into consideration are from a volume edited by S. D. Joshi (Volume 3.2 to 5.2) which is a part of second phase of the project. This will give a comprehensive picture of the procedure employed for IC analysis by different editors.

There are five statements about IC analysis in EDSHP recorded in the reader's guide of volume I as formulated by A. M. Ghatage, editor of volume I. They are as follows: (Ghatage 1978)

1. The immediate constituents of the vocables are separated by the use of a single hyphen & no further analysis is indicated to avoid ambiguity.
2. When the IC cut falls inside a long vowel, it is not shown.
3. The hyphen is used in simple proper names but it is avoided in compound proper names.
4. The ICs include both words & suffixes.

---

[1] At present, the project has reached its fourth phase under the leadership of J.D. Sathe who worked as the general editor for volume 10.1 to 10.4. At present, Dr Prasad Joshi is the general editor of the project. The latest publications of the project are composed of 4 fascicles of volume 10. Now the nomenclature is changed and fascicle itself is termed as a volume. Accordingly, the latest publication is volume 10.6 (earlier term) or volume 33(the new term). We propose to conduct a detailed study of these volumes in our future publications

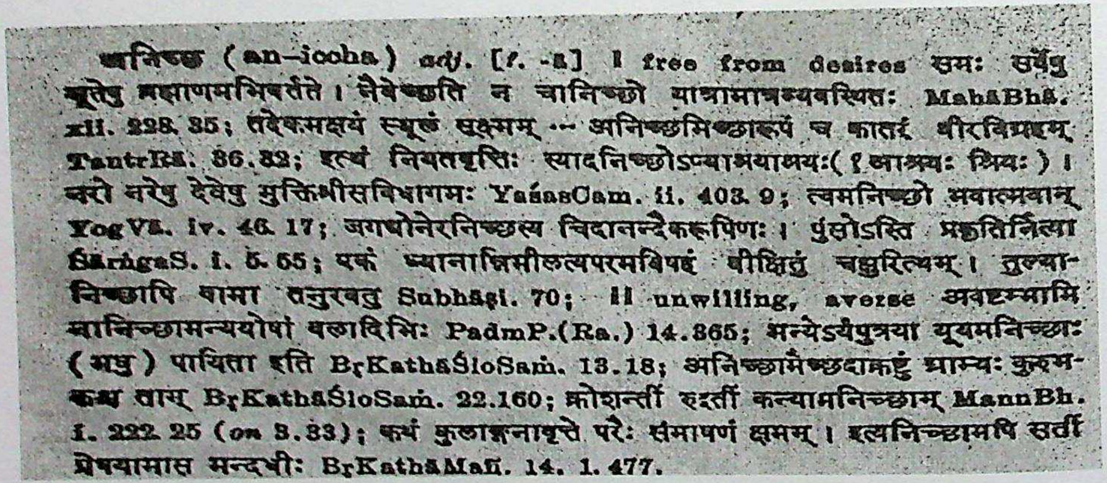
5. In case of the abstract suffixes like –tā and –tva the IC cut is usually before them.

We will refer to these principles wherever required as a guideline to understand and critically evaluate the IC analysis done in this dictionary.

1.1. Details of Volume V:

Volume V is Edited by Dr. S.D. Joshi, Dr. Mrs. V. S. Gandhe, (Up to 25-06-96), Dr. H. G. Ranade, (Up to 25-06-96). The year of publication is March 1997 (work done from 1993-1997). It is published by Deccan College Postgraduate & Research Institute, Pune and printed at Bhandarkar Institute Press, Pune. It contains 440 pages (P. 2447 – P. 2887). Here is a snapshot of the entry:

Figure 1 - P. 2447, Volume V



अनिच्छ (an–iccha) *adj.* [*f.* -ā] I free from desires समः सर्वेषु भूतेषु ब्राह्मणमभिवर्तते । नैवेच्छति न चानिच्छो यात्रामात्रव्यवस्थितः MahāBhā. xii. 228. 35; तदेकमक्षयं स्थूलं सूक्ष्मम् ... अनिच्छमिच्छारूपं च कातरं धीरविग्रहम् TantrRā. 36.82; इत्थं नियतवृत्तिः स्यादनिच्छोऽप्याश्रयाश्रयः (1 आश्रयः श्रियः) । नरो नरेषु देवेषु भुक्तिश्रीसविभागमः YaśasCam. ii. 403. 9; त्वमनिच्छो भवात्मवान् YogVā. iv. 46. 17; जगद्योनेरनिच्छस्य चिदानन्दैकरूपिणः । पुंसोऽस्ति प्रकृतिर्नित्या ŚārṅgaS. i. 5. 65; यकं ध्यानान्निमीलत्यपरमविषयं वीक्षितुं चक्षुरित्थम् । तुल्यानिच्छापि वामा तनुरवतु Subhāṣi. 70; II unwilling, averse अवष्टम्भामि मानिच्छामन्ययोषां बलाद्विभिः PadmP.(Ra.) 14.365; अन्येऽयंपुत्रया यूयमनिच्छाः (मधु) पायिता इति BṛKathāŚloSaṁ. 13.18; अनिच्छामेच्छदाक्रष्टुं ग्राम्यः कुसुमकम्र वाम् BṛKathāŚloSaṁ. 22.160; क्रोशन्तीं रुदतीं कन्यामनिच्छाम् MannBh. i. 222. 25 (*on* 3.33); कथं कुलाङ्गनावृत्ते परैः संभाषणं क्षमम् । इत्यनिच्छामपि सतीं प्रेषयामास मन्दधीः BṛKathāMañ. 14. 1. 477.

(Placeholder1) (V. Abhyankar 1957)

As far as principles for IC analysis stated in volume I are concerned (*Ibid.*), first two principles (about use of a single hyphen and *sandhi* segmentation) are unanimously followed in all the three phases (Volume I, V and VIII). The constituent cut is shown by means of a hyphen. Only binary division is made. Even in case of treatment of *sandhi*–s (statement 2), the policy employed by other editors (Ghatage & Bhatt) has been followed in Volume V. Now we look at other lexical entries with regard to the remaining policy statements. These statements are about treatment of proper nouns, suffixes and specifically about suffixes *tā* and *tva*. We shall analyze lexical entries involving proper nouns, suffix *tā* and *tva* and other affixes. We will also extend our study to some lexical entries that belong to types other than mentioned above to get a comprehensive idea about S. D. Joshi's policy for segmentation. The method followed for this study is as follows: At first, on the basis of the analyzed data, a generalized statement that underlies the IC analysis of a particular category of words is formed. This generalized statement is nowhere stated in the dictionary so far and is based on the findings of our study. Further, exceptions to this generalization are stated along with examples of lexical entries where the generalized principle is not followed. An attempt to explain these exceptions is made wherever possible. All such cases that can't be explained are kept open for further study. Thus, the paper attempts to theorize the policy for IC analysis employed by S.D. Joshi and to explain its theoretical undercurrents.

2. Treatment of Proper Nouns:

2.0. Dr. Ghatage mentions in the reader's guide to Volume I, "The hyphen is used in simple proper names but is avoided in compound proper names" (*Ibid*, LXXXIII)

Let us see similar entries in Volume V:

anidra	m.	*anidra* Name of an *astra*	(P. 2474)
anidrālu	m.	*a – nidrālu* Epithet of *arhat*, (not habitually sleeping)	(P. 2474)
nindya	m.	*a – nindya* Epithet of *Jina* (beyond censure)	(P. 2478)
anilāmbhamati	m.	*anilāmbhamati* Name of a *bodhisattva*	(P. 2560)

We find that wherever a proper name is taken in its literal sense (denotative sense) the cut is given. The literal sense is explicitly mentioned into brackets immediately after recording the meaning. But, if the name is not taken in its literal sense, IC cut is not given although it is a compound proper name. In all such cases, the literal sense is not mentioned in brackets.

2.1. Exceptions:

Some epithets of lord *Śiva* or *Viṣṇu* have been given a cut while some are not given a cut without considering whether it is taken its literal sense. See:

anitya	m.	*a – nitya* Epithet of *Śiva*	(P. 2456)
anirmūlya	m.	*anirmūlya* Epithet of *Viṣṇu*	(P. 2538)
anirviṇṇa	m.	*a - nirviṇṇa* Epithet of *Viṣṇu*	(P. 2549)

In above entries, IC cut is given although literal sense is not mentioned into brackets. On the other hand, there are three entries where literal sense is mentioned into brackets but the IC cut is not given. See:

aniryukta	m.	*aniryukta* 'Unspecified' – a type of musical composition where in which *rasa, rāga, tāla, bhāṣā* and metre & syllables etc. are not specified[2]	(P. 2540)
anupalāla	m.	*anupalāla* Name of a demon (dangerous to children)	(P. 2876)
anupaśānta	*anupaśānta*	1. Name of a son of *Māra* (unfavorable to *bodhisattva*) 2. Name of a Buddhist mendicant	(P. 2877)

---

[2] See: *niryukti* - disunion, *niryuktika* - unconnected: Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit - English Dictionary,* (New York: Oxford Publication, 1899), 500.

3. ***an – upaśānta*** – not calm, not dispassionate

Although, the IC cut is not given in any of these entries, we find two IC cuts shown, one immediately after the lexeme and another along with third sense of that lexeme. This IC cut gives us a clear clue of the axiom of the editor that proper nouns are not to be given cut unless they are taken in the literal sense. We find that, when the sense is 'not calm, not dispassionate', the lexical entry is segmented but it is not so in case of first two meanings. The first two meanings are not denotations but the compound is merely used as an epithet. The morphemes are segmented before mentioning the third meaning as that sense is denoted by the compound expression.

There are entries where literal meaning is not mentioned and still cut is given.

anihitatejas	m.	*anihita – tejas*	(P. 2612)
		Name of a *Bodhisattva*	
anihitamalla	m.	*anihita – malla*	(P. 2612)
		Name of a *Bodhisattva*	
anihitavarṇa	m.	*anihita – varṇa*	(P. 2612)
		Name of a *Bodhisattva*	
anilāmbhasamādhi	m.	*anilāmbha - samādhi*	(P. 2612)
		Name of a *samādhi*	
anihitamati	m.	*anihita - mati*	(P. 2612)
		Name of a *Bodhisattva*	

In all above cases, although the literal sense is not mentioned into brackets, the words are used as epithets in denotative sense. E.g. - A Bodhisat*tva* called *anihita – tejas* as his lustre is never blocked. This sense is denoted by the compound expression. Therefore, the cut is given. Thus, a generalization could be formed that, if the meaning is related to the literal sense of the compound expression, it is segmented.

In the entries running under / *aniruddha* /, all Proper nouns have been given a cut. See;

aniruddha	m.	*a – niruddha* Name of the grandson of *Kṛṣṇa*	(P. 2519)
aniruddha	m.	*a – niruddha* Name of a mystic formula	(P. 2520)
aniruddhapura	n.	*aniruddha - pura* Name of a city (modern *soparā*)	(P. 2521)
aniruddhabhaṭṭa	m.	*aniruddha - bhaṭṭa* Name of an author	(P. 2521)
aniruddhasarasvatī	f.	*aniruddha - sarasvatī* Epithet of a tantric goddess	(P. 2521)

In first two cases, the IC cut is given before the negative marker. In remaining cases, a proper noun used as the adjective of a common noun is segmented from the common noun. This leads to a generalization that, constituents of proper nouns involving *karmadhāraya* compound have been segmented.

3. Treatment of words ending in *-tā* & *-tva* suffixes:

Dr. Ghatage states, "In case of the abstract suffixes like *-tā* &*-tva* the IC cut is usually before them" (*Ibid*). The statement is not precise and also doesn't state the criterion for giving or not giving a cut before these suffixes. In volume V, total number of words that are not given cut before suffix *-tā* &*-tva* is 25 (23 *tva*+ 2 *tā*). It is observed that, in consistency with the principle of semantic cut identified in the earlier paper (Bhide and Kulkarni 2013), the cut is given on 'semantic' basis in case of such words by S. D. Joshi. See:

anityatā	f.	*anitya – tā*	(P. 2457)
		The state of being not eternal or not long lasting,\ Being perishable	
anityatā	adj.	*a - nityatā*	(P. 2457)
		Not having certainty	
anivāryatā	f.	*anivārya – tā*	(P. 2573)
		The state of being that which can't be set aside	
anupalambhaśūnyatā	f.	*anupalambha – śūnyatā*	(P. 2875)
		Emptiness that consists in inconceivability or unreality	

The derivational suffix *tā/tva* denote the sense of a particular state. So, in the first entry, where the meaning is 'state of being not eternal', the cut is given before *tā*. However, in the second entry, the sense of negation is implied, so negative particle '*a*' is separated instead of '*tā*'. Thus, the principle of IC analysis as stated by Nida E. "the divisions should confirm to meaningful relationships" (Nida 1946, 87) is primarily followed while segmenting suffixes. Further, it is seen that, the division is in consistency with the 'contextual meaning' of the word. The IC cut of the same lexeme varies according to its contextual meaning. This is evident from the above example of *anityatā*. The principle of semantic cut is seen to be followed in other volumes too but not explicitly mentioned in any volume published so far. The editors of EDSHP at present claim that while deciding the cut, meaning is the primary concern.[3] Even in case of these suffixes, the cut is given on the basis of its meaning. This gives an explanation of the underlying assumption behind the statement "In case of the abstract suffixes like *-tā&-tva* the IC cut is usually before them" stated by A. M. Ghatage. The IC cut is given before these suffixes wherever the meaning is, "state of being/ something". If the lexeme

---

[3] conveyed by Dr. J. D. Sathe (Editor of Volume VIII, IX) & Dr. V. Kshirasagar (General editor since 2014) in an informal discussion during World Sanskrit Conference 2012 at Delhi

denotes negation, the negative marker is segmented instead of the suffixes *-tā*&-*tva*. In this sense, it is a semantic cut. Let us understand how word formation process differs although a word involves same morphemes if the denotation is different. See:

anityatā f. *anitya – tā* (P. 2457)

The state of being not eternal or not long lasting, Being perishable

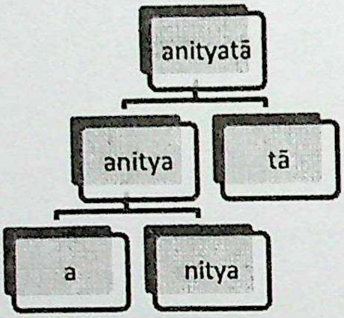


Figure 2: IC analysis of *anityatā* - The state of being not eternal

anityatā adj. *a - nityatā* (P. 2457)

Not having certainty

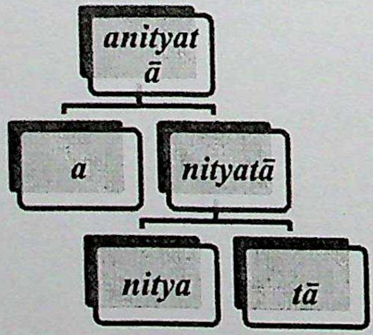


Figure 3: IC analysis of *anityatā* - Not having certainty

The tree diagrams show us how the constituent structure differs according to the sense of the word. The immediate constituents at the final stage of word formation are shown through IC analysis.

4. Treatment of verbal roots with *upasarga* & nouns with a prefix:

4.0 Now, we widen our scope of analysis and also look at how different affixes have been treated in this dictionary. Sanskrit has a wide range of affixes attached before and after a stem. There are certain infixes too. The prefixes are attached before both verbal as well as noun stems. Among suffixes, forms attached with primary as well as secondary derivational suffixes are found in a dictionary. There is no scope for inflectional suffixes in a dictionary as inflected forms are not entered in a dictionary. We proceed with the analysis of prefixes. Let us look at some verbal roots that have a prefix as well as suffix attached. See:

anukarṣaṇīya	*anu - karṣaṇīya*	(P. 2642)
anukarṣat	*anu - karṣat*	(P. 2642)
anukārita	*anu - kārita*	(P. 2646)
anukīrtita	*anu – kīrtita*	(P. 2649)
anukīrtyamāna	*anu – kīrtyamāna*	(P. 2649)
anukṣantum	*anu - kṣantum*	(P. 2677)
anugamayitvya	*anu – gamayitvya*	(P. 2695)
anugamayitvā	*anu – gamayitvā*	(P. 2695)

It is observed that, if the root has *upasarga* (a prefix) and is attached with a suffix too, the cut is given between verbal root and *upasarga* (the prefix). The policy of separating *upasarga* from the verbal root attached with suffix needs theoretical explanation. Morphologically, *upasarga* belongs to a different category than that of a verbal root (*ākhyāta*) in Sanskrit grammar. On the other hand, semantically, *upasarga* and verbal roots are inseparable as they together convey a different sense than that of a verbal root alone. For instance, *gata* and *āgata* are semantically two separate lexemes. Moreover, *upsarga* becomes meaningful only when it is joined to a verbal root as stated in *upasargāḥ kriyāyoge*| P. 1. 4. 59. Here, we find that the IC cut is uniformly given between *upsarga* and verbal root attached with a suffix. There is another possibility of doing IC analysis of the same lexeme in which [***anukīrt***] and [***ita***] (*kta* realized as *ita*) can be shown as immediate constituents because both have a "meaningful correlation" as well as "structural parallels". If we analyze the sense that is conveyed by the lexeme, both IC cuts are appropriate. Structurally, there are no constraints over the prefix *anu* as well as suffix *ita* of being part of a higher structure. S. D. Joshi prefers to show an analysis in which *upsarga* and verbal root are not attached. The *upsarga* stands as an immediate constituent of a verbal root with a suffix. The order of formation as shown by him through IC analysis is as follows: A suffix is attached to a verbal root leading to a word formation. Further, the *upsarga* is prefixed before that form causing change in its meaning. A suffix is not attached to the unit of a verbal root having the *upsarga* according to this analysis done by S. D. Joshi. This analysis is in consistency with the axiom in Indian grammatical tradition - "*pūrvam dhātu sādhanena yujyate*" (V. Abhyankar 1957, 187). This means, unit [***anukīrt***] - verbal root without any suffix does not stand as a constituent in Sanskrit. Here, the IC cut is determined on purely morphological basis. Semantic aspect is not given consideration. We also find a different analysis done by S. D. Joshi in case of some other suffixes attached to verbal roots. Let us see some examples of gerunds in Sanskrit.

4.1. Treatment of Gerunds:

In case of gerunds the cut is not given between root and *upasarga*. See:

anukīrtya	*anukīrt – ya*	*(P. 2649)*
anukūlībhūya	*anukūlībhū – ya*	*(P. 2659)*
anukramya	*anukram – ya*	*(P. 2674)*

This different treatment of *upasarga* in case of gerunds has a following possible explanation: There is an agreement between gerund suffixes and *upasarga* in Sanskrit. If the root is without *upasarga,* suffix '*tvā*' is attached and if it is with an *upasarga*, suffix '*lyap*' is attached as stated by *samāse anañpūrvo ktvo lyap* | P. 7.1.37. So, the suffix '*lyap*' can be attached only to a unit that contains [*upasarga* + verbal root]. Moreover, it can't come together to form a single unit with verbal root alone. IC cut between *upasarga* and root would have indicated a wrong constituency as well as hierarchical order in the word formation. The formation of such a constituent is not possible according to the cannons of Sanskrit grammar.

On the other hand, the unit ***anukram*** indicates that the suffix '*lyap*' is attached to this unit and not to the verbal root alone. Such peculiarities of Sanskrit morphology are considered as the criterion by S. D. Joshi while segmenting the morphemes. The difference in the treatment of two forms involving similar morphemes but different structural features is shown through following tree diagrams:

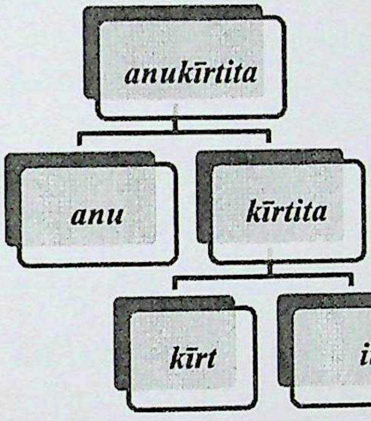


Figure 4: IC Analysis of *anukīrtita*

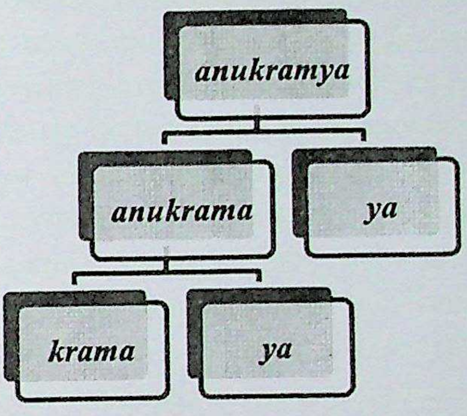


Figure 5: IC Analysis of *anukramya*

In both cases shown above, the basis of IC cut is the morphological properties of the lexeme. Semantic aspect of the lexeme has not been given consideration.

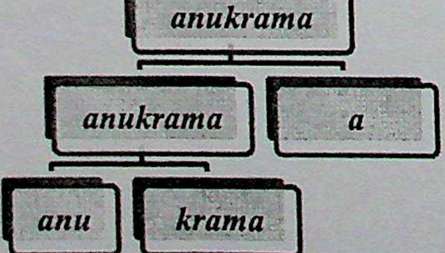
4.2. Treatment of Nouns with Prefixes:

Let us see some noun forms involving prefixes to understand S. D. Joshi's policy of treating prefixes. When a noun has a prefix, a prefix is separated. See:

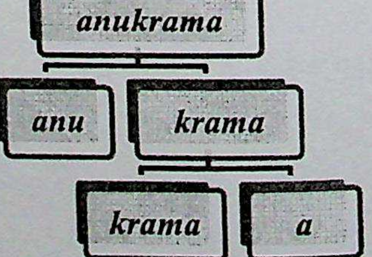
anukrama	*(m)*	*anu - krama* Index, list, due order	(P. 2671)
anukramaṇī	(f)	*anu - kramaṇī* Index, List of contents	(P. 2673)

In the first lexeme, there are three constituents – *anu* (prefix), *kram* (base form) and *a* (derivational affix). In the second lexeme, the constituents are - *anu* (prefix), *kram* (base form), *an* (derivational affix) and *ī* (another derivational affix). Still, the prefix is separated from rest of the constituents. Thus, S.D. Joshi consistently gives a cut after the prefix irrespective of whether it is a verbal form or a noun form except in gerund forms. This treatment has to be examined with respect to the principle of semantic cut followed by editors of the other volume (Bhide and Kulkarni 2013). A prefix and a noun function as a single unit semantically. When, the same prefix is attached to a verbal root it modifies the meaning of the root too. So, it performs the same semantic function that it performs in the company of a noun. But, we find in volume V of EDSHP that, in case of verbs with *upasarga*-s and also in case of nouns with prefixes, primarily morphological features are considered while doing segmentation. Dr. Ghatage mentions in his introduction to volume I, "the usual prefixes were originally independent words and could be separated from the verbs in the older language. Only as a result of natural development and in course of time they became inseparable from the verb." (Ghatage 1978, XXXIV)In practice, S. D. Joshi has never considered *upasarga* and verbal root together as a single unit. So, there is a theoretical difference between IC analysis done by A. M. Ghatage and S. D. Joshi. Although, policy of treating such forms is not stated so far in EDSHP, the examples discussed above are evident to prove our claim that 'only morphological features are considered in case of forms having *upasarga* or prefix' by S. D. Joshi. Here, there is a conflict with the principle of semantic cut followed in EDSHP otherwise. Let us consider the example of [***anukrama***]. Here, [*kram*] is the base form to which a prefix [*anu*] and a derivational suffix [*a*] are attached. Now, the actual sequence of morphemes may be different from its structural order (Bloomfield 1933, 210). The actual sequence is [*anu – kram – a*] and the structural order may be either [*kram – a] and [kram – a - anu*] or [*anu – kram] and [anu – kram – a*]. Accordingly IC analysis will differ. See the following tree diagram:

11. ***anu - krama***



2. ***anukram – a,***



S. D. Joshi gives IC cut as ***anu - karma.*** Thus, even in case of noun forms having a prefix; S. D. Joshi assumes the structural order in which a prefix is attached at the final stage and therefore it is segmented from the rest of the constituents. This is the theoretical explanation of his treatment of prefixes.

5. Treatment of suffixes in *upapada* compounds:

This is an area in volume V that demands special attention. This is because the treatment of the compounds that are termed as *upapada tatpuruṣa* is notably different in Volume V. It is different from the treatment given to similar forms in other volumes of EDSHP. It is also different from the treatment given to other forms having suffixes in the same volume. Let us see an example to understand the treatment:

Lexical Entry:	***aniṣṭaphalada*** (adj.)	P. 2598, Volume V
IC analysis:	*aniṣṭaphalad – a*	
Meaning:	yielding on undesirable result	

Here the IC cut is given before the segment *a*. This is a compound termed as *upapada tatpuruṣa* compound. It has a suffix a *(ka)* at its end as stated in *ātonupasarge kaḥ|* P. 3.2.3. The suffix *a* is the realization of this suffix *ka*. Now, according to the meaning, it suggests that, *aniṣṭaphala* is one unit while *da* is another unit in this word. Therefore, on the semantic basis, the IC analysis should be done as *aniṣṭaphala – da*. But here the analysis is done in a different way. It is clear that last morpheme in the actual sequence is separated.

Now, Let us compare this entry with another similar entry from volume I. See:

Lexical Entry:	***[akṣayaphalada]*** (adj.)	Page 180, Volume I
IC Analysis:	*akṣayaphala – da*	
Meaning:	'Yielding imperishable or undiminishing reward'	

Here, the IC analysis done is different from that of volume V although the structure of the word is similar. It is clear that the cut is given in this case on the basis of the meaning of the word and not on the basis of final morpheme in actual sequence. This different treatment can be explained as follows: The constituent *a* (*ka*) is prescribed as a *kṛt* affix in *Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī* and is applied in the sense of *kartṛ (*an agent). It forms an important part of the derivation process in the derived forms termed as *upapada tatpuruṣa* compounds. According to the aphorism *tatra upapdam saptamīstham* | P. 3.1.92 the term *upapada* is applied to such words as are put in locative case by *Pāṇini* in his rules prescribing *kṛt* affixes from P. 3. 1. 95 to 3. 2.104 (K. V. Abhyankar 1986, 85) The term *karma* (object) is stated in locative case in the aphorism *karmaṇi aṇ*| P. 3.2.1. Therefore it gets the term *upapada*. As a result, all words having the status of an object are considered to be *upapada*. From P. 3.2.1 up to 3.2.58, are stated those suffixes that are placed after a verbal root if it is preceded by an object (*upapada*). Thus, these suffixes are attached to roots only if they are preceded by objects. The basic suffix that is attached is *aṇ* according to the aphorism *karmaṇi aṇ* | P. 3.2.1. Remaining suffixes prescribed till 3.2.58 replace *aṇ* in different conditions. These suffixes are '*ka'* as stated in P. 3.2.2 – 3.2.7, *'ṭak'* as stated in P. 3.2.8 & P. 3.2.52 – 3.2.55, *'ac'* as stated in P. 3.2.9 – 3.2.15, *'ṭa'* as stated in P. 3.2.16 – 3.2.23, *'in'* as stated in P. 3.2.24 – 3.2.27, *'khaś'* as stated in P. 3.2.28 – 3.2.37, *'khac'* as stated in P. 3.2.28 - 3.2.47, *'ḍa'* as stated in P. 3.2.48 – 3.2.50, *'ṇini'* as stated in P. 3.2.51, *'khyun'* as stated in P. 3.2.56 *and 'kvin'* as stated in P. 3.2.58. All these suffixes are realized as *a* except *in* and *ṇini* which are realized as *i* and *in* respectively. Also, *khyun* is realized as *an* and *kvin* is completely elided. In the formation of this compound, suffix *a* is added to verbal root because of the object being an *upapada*. After the addition of this suffix a noun form is derived from the verbal root denoting an agent. The preceding noun form is compounded with this derived noun leading to formation of a compound. Thus, addition of the suffix *a* is not the final stage in structural order. It falls in between in the formation process. Therefore, it is inappropriate to segment this suffix from rest of the constituents.

7. Observations:

The analysis done above leads to following generalized statements about S. D. Joshi's policy for IC analysis -

1. While treating compound nouns, if the meaning is related to the literal sense of the compound expression, it is segmented. If it is used as an epithet, the constituents are not shown.

2. While determining the hierarchy of morphemes in case of a form like *anityatā* that involves multiple bound morphemes, the contextual meaning of the word is primarily considered and IC cut that indicates contextual meaning is shown. The principles of meaningful correlation and structural parallel have not been violated while doing so. This is evident from the comparison of *anitya -tā* : State of being not eternal and *a -nityatā* : not having certainty, discussed in section 3.

3. In case of verbal roots having a prefix, the prefix is segmented. Thus, S. D. Joshi assumes a specific structural order of such forms in which the prefix is attached at the final stage of word formation. The only exception to this is gerund forms because the choice from gerund suffixes *ktvā* and *lyap* depends upon the structural peculiarities of immediate constituents. So, in case of gerund forms, the gerund suffix *lyap* is segmented from the unit that contains [prefix + Verbal root]. In rest of the cases, prefix is segmented from the unit [verbal root + suffix]. This is evident by cases discussed in section 4 and 4.1 and 4.2. Thus, here the structural features of a lexeme are given primacy over the meaning of that lexeme.

4. In case of *upapada tatpuruṣa* compounds, S. D. Joshi segments the morpheme in the final position in compound. This is according to the actual sequence and not according to structural order of the form. But, in rest of the cases, he considers structural order of constituents to determine IC cut.

8. Conclusions and roadmap:

8.0. S. D. Joshi's policy for IC analysis in volume V can be summarized as follows: we find two contrastive principles underlying the IC analysis done in volume V. In some cases, The IC cut is determined on the basis of contextual meaning of the word. Here, it is a semantic cut. On the other hand, in case of certain other lexemes, the IC cut is not given by considering the meaning but by considering the morphological property alone. Here, it is primarily a morphemic cut. The lexemes where contextual meaning is given primary consideration for IC cut are discussed in section 2 and 3. The lexemes where contextual meaning is given primary consideration for IC cut have been dealt with in section 4 and 5.

8.1. This duality of treatment has led to conflict between two principles at places. See the following examples:

anityam	*a – nityam*	not regularly, occasionally	(P. 2467)
anidram	*anidram*	without sleep	(P. 2474)
anindhanam	*anindhanam*	without fuel	(P. 2481)
anibandhanam	*anibandhanam*	without any reason	(P. 2483)
anibhṛtam	*a - nibhṛtam*	without concealment	(P. 2484)
animnam	*a – nimnam*	not downwards, upwards	(P. 2496)
aniruktam	*a – niruktam*	unexpressed-ly, indistinctly	(P. 2518)
aniruddham	*aniruddham*	unobstructed-ly	(P. 252

All forms listed above have been recorded as adverbs in this dictionary. Moreover, all these forms denote a negative sense. At some places, their constituents have not been shown. This is in consistency with the treatment of other adverbial forms given in this dictionary as adverbs are not segmented in EDSHP. Thus, the forms where the IC cut is not shown, primarily morphological properties have been considered. In all such cases, the contextual meaning of that form is overlooked. On the other hand, in some forms, the negative prefix is segmented. This is done by considering the contextual meaning of the form. This results in overall inconsistency in treatment of forms while segmenting their constituents. So, it is necessary to determine the primacy of one of these two contrastive principles while segmenting the constituents in Sanskrit. This will bring in consistency in treatment.

8.2. The principles for IC cut stated by A. M. Ghatage in reader's guide of volume I and underlying principles of S. D. Joshi's IC analysis differ from each other. Moreover, principles stated by A. M. Ghatage and principles underlying S. D. Joshi's analysis together are not enough to handle all lexemes in Sanskrit that require segmentation. This necessitates the need to formulate a comprehensive set of principles for segmentation in Sanskrit. It is necessary to identify and classify all possible lexemes in Sanskrit that can be segmented in terms of their immediate constituents. Further, criteria for segmentation of these lexemes have to be theorized especially by considering the peculiarities of Sanskrit morphology.

Abbreviations

EDSHP - Encyclopedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles

IC Analysis - Immediate Constituents Analysis

P. - *Pāṇini*'s aphorism as stated in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*

List of Figures:

Figure 1 -Lexical Entry in Volume V, Page 2447, EDSHP

Figure 2: IC analysis of *anityatā* - The state of being not eternal

Figure 3: IC analysis of *anityatā* - Not having uncertainty

Figure 4: IC Analysis of *anukīrtita*

Figure 5: IC Analysis of *anukramya*

References :

1. Abhyankar, K.V. 1986. *Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar.* Baroda: Oriental Institute of Vadọdara.
2. Abhyankar, V. 1957. *Trans. of Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.* Edited by K.V. Abhyankar. Pune: Sanskrit Vidya Parisansthan.
3. Apte, V. S. 1957. *The Practicle Sanskrit English Dictionary.* Pune: Prasad Prakashan.
4. Bhatt, V., and J. Sathe. 2008. *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles.* Vol. III. Pune: Deccan College Postgraduate Research Institute.
5. Bhide, P., and M. Kulkarni. 2014. "Constituent Structure in Sanskrit Lexicography with Special Reference to Modern Sanskrit Lexicography, (Post 17th Century)." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* 86: 10-28.

6. Bhide, P., and M. Kulkarni. 2013. "Constituent Structure in Sanskrit Lexicography with Special Reference to the Deccan College Dictionary Project." *Journal of the Oriental Institute* 62 (I-4): 149-166.
7. Blevins, J. 2013. *American Descriptivism(Structuralism) In The Oxford Handbook of the History of Linguistics.* Edited by Allan Keith. Oxford University Press.
8. Bloomfield, L. 1914. *An Introduction to the Study of Language.* New York: Henry Holt & Co. .
9. —. 1933. *Language.* New York: Henry Holt & Co.
10. Carnie, A. 2002. *Syntax, a generative introduction.* Victoria : Blackwell.
11. Gandhe, V. S. 2007. *Dictionary: Reading between the Lines in Research Trends in Lexicography, Sanskrit & Linguistics* . Pune: Deccan College of Postgraduate & Research Institute.
12. Ghatage, A.M. 1978. *An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles.* Edited by A.M. Ghante. Vol. I. Pune: Deccan College Postgraduate & Research Institute.
13. Joshi, S.D., , S. V. Gandhe, and H. G. Ranade. 1997. *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles.* Vol. III. Pune: Deccan College Postgraduate & Research Institute.
14. Joshi, S.D., and J. Roodbergen. 1973. *The Treatments of Compounds in Sanskrit Grammar in Studies in Historical Sanskrit Lexicography.* Pune: Centre for Advance Studies in LInguistics, Deccan College, Postgraduate & Research Institute.
15. Nida, E. 1946. *Morphology, The descriptive analysis of words.* Michigan: University of Michigan Publications.
16. Williams, and Monier Williams. 1976 (reprint 1999). *A Dictionary of English and Sanskrit.* Delhi: Motilal Banarasidas.

SOME GRAMMATICAL ISSUES IN THE *ṚGVEDA-MAṆḌALA* IX: POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

Manish Rajan Walvekar[*]
Pradnya Deshpande[†]

Abstract: The spontaneous and lively Vedic language has been considered one of the land's oldest languages. The towering work by Pāṇini (P.) [the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (AA.)] marks an essential stage in the comprehension of the Vedic language. There are many other remarkable texts like *Nirukta*, *Prātiśākhya* texts, *Śikṣā* texts, *Vārttika*-s, *Mahābhāṣya*, *Kāśikā*, *Siddhāntakaumudī*, etc. to study the language. In this contemporary era, several scholars have contributed to the studies of Vedic grammar. The main objective of the current paper is to understand and assess some grammatical problems from the *maṇḍala* IX and studya few peculiar formations of the Verbal forms comparatively. The term 'comparatively' stands for:

- Study of the verbal forms in light of the traditional literature like AA., *Nirukta,* Mbh. (*Mahābhāṣya*), SB. (*Sāyaṇabhāṣya*), etc.\
- Study with the help of the modern interpretations by A. A. Macdonell, W. D. Whitney, Paul Thieme, G. B. Palsule, etc.

Key words: *Maṇḍala* IX, Verbal forms, Vedic grammar, *Tiṅanta*

Scope of the present work:

There were some full-fledged attempts toward the study of Ṛgvedic verbal forms, to name a few, Katre [*maṇḍala* II] (2013), Pradhan [*maṇḍala* III] (1988), Devi

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 193, Vol. 72, 2023, pp. 63-92.

[*] Amrita Vishwa Vidyapeetham, Kasavanahalli, Carmelaram PO, Bengaluru, Karnataka-560035. M: 975745466, Email: manishwalvekar94@gmail.com

[†] Deccan College PGRI Deemed to be University, Alandi Road, Yerawada, Pune, Maharashtra- 411006. Email: pradnya.deshpande@dcpune.ac.in

[*maṇḍala* IV] (1992), Palsule [*maṇḍala* VI] (1978), Shete [*maṇḍala* VII] (1988), Joshi [*maṇḍala* X- only Aorist forms) (2010). Before dwelling into the brief account of the work, let us have a glance at some statistical features of the *maṇḍala*- It is comprised of 114 *sūkta*-s, 7 *anuvāka*-s, 1108 *mantra*-s, 2192 lines, 6071 *pāda*-s, 14076 words, 34057 syllables, 739 verbal forms, and 84 seers. As stated earlier, the paper aims at a grammatical study of mere verbal forms (*tiṅanta*). A limitation of the current study, and instead a further scope to extend the studies, can be the study of the treatment given to *sannanta, nāmadhātu, yaṅanta,* and *yaṅluganta*. This study also focuses on synthesizing the traditional tools to understand the Vedic language and the modern interpretation streams. It certainly, does not restrict the scope to a specific domain of the interpretation. Additionally, some attempts have been made to apply the principles of Historical Linguistics.

Before dwelling on the different aspects of the verbal system, it is essential to understand the two notions that serve as undercurrents for the entire thought process-

i. The notion of Vedic peculiarity

ii. Place of *bahula* and *vyatyaya*

i The notion of Vedic Peculiarity

The Vedic language consistently exhibits its spontaneous nature and is very flexible. The patterns, structures, and paradigms of P.'s descriptive structure cannot be fully used to analyze this language. It is always independent and intrinsic. It will be a big pill to swallow if it is decided to compose a grammar of the Vedic language, like classical Sanskrit. The phonetic, syntactic, semantic, morphological, etc., patterns are quite difficult to code into any text like P.'s monumental work- AA. For instance, the root *gamḶ*[1] *gatau* produces various verbal forms in the RV. (*Ṛgveda*) like- गच्छ(6.75.16), गच्छति(1.1.4), गच्छते(9.93.2),

---

1. The *it* (mute) letters are shown with the upper-case letters.

गच्छध्वम्(10.191.2), गच्छाति(10.16.2), गच्छस्व(10.14.8), गच्छाः(6.35.3), गच्छतात्(10.154.1), etc. with different modal shades.

Mutatis mutandis, P. has given a piece of excellent machinery to understand, explain, and comprehend the Vedic language through the Vedāṅga-*Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Through several tools like *vyatyaya, bahula,* etc., he has manifested his intelligence in coding-decoding the Vedic language. It is well known that P.'s main intention was to describe the prevalent language using metalinguistic tools. Palsule (1991:63) says, "Pāṇini was not writing a grammar of Vedic Sanskrit as such. As is generally accepted, he mainly describes the Sanskrit language, including in his description only such of the Vedic features as had come down in his language, mentioning briefly *en passant*, Vedic features on the one hand and innovations in the *bhāṣā* on the other." Here, Palsule wishes to make very clear that the AA., Vedāṅga-Vyākaraṇa, cannot be used entirely to explain the Vedic language, but it can be used to a greater extent. This well-known notion gave rise to the theories of Western scholars to understand the Vedic language. On the other hand, Pushpa Dixit (2019: pp. viii, xvii) affirmatively says, "यद्भेदेन उच्यते महाभाष्ये केषां शब्दानाम्? लौकिकानां वैदिकानां च इति. ...... तथा एव ब्राह्मण-वसिष्ठ-न्यायेन वैदिकानां शब्दानां लौकिकत्वेऽपि तेषां प्राधान्यख्यापनाय पृथगुपादानं कृतम्......लौकिका वैदिकाश्च शब्दा न सन्ति भिन्नाः यत्र वैदिक-शब्दस्य कृते न उच्यते कश्चन विशेषस्तत्र लौकिकशब्द एव वैदिकः अतो देवासः, देवेभिः इति शब्दद्वयं वर्जयित्वा-अकारान्तपुल्लिंगप्रातिपदिकस्य सर्वाणि रूपाणि लोके वेदे च समान्यान्येव इति." Her point is that P. is describing all derivations of the Vedic vocabulary. Wherever we find difficulty, the tools like *vyatyaya* and *bahula* should be effectively used. Here, the issue of synthesis between the two schools occurs. One school is positive, putting up the advantages and limitations of the Pāṇinian system; on the other hand, another school is strongly perpetuating the Pāṇinian system and its completeness in explaining the Vedic language. Both schools have been considered equally for the present work. One should not entirely avoid or demean P. while dealing with the Vedic vocabulary; complete dependence on P.'s structural description might also miss some important points.

One should always look forward to attaining the synthesis between these two streams of interpretations. Also, there is no *pūrva-pakṣa* (Western scholars) and *uttara/siddhānta-pakṣa* (Indian tradition) in the studies of Vedic grammar. A study based on both contributions will make the interpretations everlasting. Palsule *(op. cit.)* is one of the best examples of such synthesis.

Still, several works related to explaining the Vedic vocabulary often point out the 'irregularity' of the language. This irregularity is mainly observed in two-fold-

i. The patterns of the Vedic language cannot be regularized or patterned.

ii. The forms of the Vedic vocabulary are not accountable to the Pāṇinian system of grammar.

It is accepted that the coding-decoding of the Vedic vocabulary is exceptionally challenging. Nevertheless, addressing them as 'not accountable to P.'s system' is undoubtedly problematic. Neither P. nor the later tradition aimed at doing so. The entire tradition, however, always tried to explain the forms and not justify them in the grammatical boundaries. As discussed above, P. has made all possible and plausible attempts to explain the Vedic language, and even if we are failed to get the entire explanation (of a form) using the Pāṇinian system, it is, categorically, probable to arrive at the nearest morpho-phonemic explanation of the form. Hence, terming them irregular cannot be considered an apt approach. One may use the terms like 'unusual,' 'peculiar,' or simply 'Vedic' to address the vocabulary.

Let us see some unusual examples from the IXth *maṇḍala* to comprehend the proposed points. These forms are peculiar and reveal some glimpses of the Vedic language.

1. अ॒ति॒ष्ठि॒पत् 86.40 with उत् (= उत्थापयति)

   Sāy. (Sāyaṇa) too looks upon the form in the similar pattern on RV. 3.53.19- जीहिपः-ओहाक्त्यागे । ण्यन्तस्य लुङि चङि रूपम् । अकारस्य इकारः छान्दसः ।

   The form is unique in terms of its morphological development. It has been derived from the stem *sthāpaya,*which includes the *āgama puK* (P. 7.3.36).

2. उ॒ष्णन् - 97.39

Augmentless Imperfect (Imperf.) *lAṄ, prathama-puruṣa* (*Pr.P.*) Plural (Pl.), *parasmaipada* (*PP.*) of *muṣA steye* class (cl.) 9 Macdonell (1968, paragraph reference) (Macd.) (1993:373 of the root *uṣ* to burn). Here, we observe a Vedic elision of the initial letter *m*.

3. जगम्यात्-जगम्यात् - 93.5 (=आगच्छेत्)

Present (Pres.) Optative (Opt.) *lIṄ Pr.P.* (Singular) Sg. *PP.* of *gamḶ gatau* cl. 1 Macd. 489.SB.- गमेर्लिङि बहुलं छन्दसि इति शपः श्लु ।

A peculiar Vedic example where we do not observe the substitution of *gacch* in place of *gam* (P. 7.4.77) and the elision of the radical vowel (P. 6.4.98) in the environment of *yāt*.

4. वसायतें – 14.3 (=आच्छाद्यते)

Surprisingly, *padapāṭha* (*PadaP*). is not shortening the lengthened *ā* in the form. Despite the usual lengthening of *a* is *vas.,* one observes the lengthening in the following vowel. This is a peculiar feature of the lengthening of a letter and the absence of shortening by *padapāṭhakāra*.

To sum up, it is not beyond one's capacity to put the Vedic vocabulary under P.'s rules by hook or crook and completely demean P.'s structure. It is always admissible to address or consider those forms peculiar or simply Vedic.

ii. Concept of *bahula* and *vyatyaya*

व्यत्ययो बहुलम् - (P. 3.1.85)- Let us see Patañjali's *vyākhyāna* on the aphorism- ''योगविभागः कर्तव्यः । व्यत्ययो भवति स्यादीनामिति..........ततो बहुलम् । बहुलं छन्दसि विषये सर्वे विधयो भवन्तीति । सुपां व्यत्ययः, तिङां व्यत्ययः, लिङ्ग व्यत्ययः, पुरुष व्यत्ययः, काल व्यत्ययः, आत्मनेपद व्यत्ययः, परस्मैपद व्यत्यय इति..........''सुप्तिङुपग्रहलिङ्गनराणां कालहलच्स्वरकर्तृयङांच । व्यत्ययम् इच्छति शास्त्रकृदेषां सोऽपि च सिध्यति बाहुलकेन।''

The Mbh. is splitting the *sūtra* into two parts-

Part 1– *vyatyayaḥ*

Part 2- *bahulam*

The first *yogavibhāga* asserts the diverse interchange of the *vikaraṇa*-s. The second one affirms the transgression of the fixed rules in the Veda-s. Such transgressions are often observed in the Vedic literature, and no such fixed pattern exists. Let us see some examples of *vyatyaya*[2] in the light of the verbal systems-

- हरि॑: पवित्रे॑ अर्षति। RV. 9.3.9- *ŚaP* instead of *Śa*. An example of *vikaraṇa-vyatyaya*.

- इन्द्रे॑ण युजा त॑रुषेम वृ॒त्रम् । RV. 7.48.2- Three *vikaraṇa*-s- *u, sIP, ŚaP*

- च॒षा॒लं ये अ॑श्वयूपाय तक्ष॑ति । RV. 1.162.6- *takṣati* in place of *takṣanti* (Sg. instead of Pl.). *tiṅāṃ tiṅo bhavanti* (Mbh. on P. 7.1.39). A specimen of *tiṅ-vyatyaya*.

- अ॒श्नो॒ति॒ – RV. 9.81.2- *PP*. in place of *ātmanepada* (*ĀP.)*This is also called as *upagrahavyatyaya*. In the Veda-s, there is no such fixed pattern of *PP*. and *ĀP*.

- अध॒ स वी॒रै॒र्दशभि॒र्वि यू॑याः । RV. 7.104.15 This is an example *puruṣa-vyatyaya*. *viyūyāḥ* is seen instead of *viyūyād*.

- गवा॑मिव श्रि॒यसे॒ । RV. 5.59.3- The obvious *adyudātta* by P. 6.1.197 is superseded by *madhyodātta*. This is *svara-vyatyaya*.

Another aphorism- छन्दस्युभयथा(P. 3.4.117)- The *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka* suffixes are promiscuously employed in the Veda-s. *Kāśikā* gives an example of वर्धन्तु त्वा सुष्टुतयो॒...(RV. 7.100.7) Furthermore,it explains the application of P. 6.4.51, and as an effect, the suffix *JHI* becomes *ārdhadhātuka*. Sāy. explains the notion as *antarhitaṇyartha* (ref. हि॒न्वि॒रे RV. 9.1.8, 9.26.5). Hence, it may be noted here that the Vedic language is quite dynamic and diverse.

Let us understand the concept of *bāhulakam* or *bahulam*-

Vaidya (2003:62) comments, "*bahulam* means 'many times' or 'variously' so the operations marked by this term suggest frequency of that particular operation rather than function" Mbh. rightly comments on P. 2.1.58- यद्यकृत्स्नं बहुलवचनं यद् अनेन कृतम् अकृतं तत् । सर्ववेदपारिषदं हीदं शास्त्रम्। तत्र नैकः पन्थाः शक्यः आस्थातुम्।

---

[2] This, of course, does not mean that the forms are not in accordance with P. This just shows the variations and transgressions.

The aphorism- उणादयोबहुलम् (P. 3.3.1)- बहून् अर्थान् लाति इति बहुलम् तस्य भावः बाहुलकम्। (मनोज्ञादित्वात्वुञ्). *Bāhulaka* is also explained (Annambhaṭṭa's commentary on *Vājasaneyī Prātiśākhya* 3.18) as-

क्वचित्प्रवृत्तिः क्वचिदप्रवृत्तिः क्वचिद्विभाषा क्वचिदन्यदेव ।
विधेर्विधानं बहुधा समीक्ष्य चतुर्विधं बाहुलकं वदन्ति ॥

Bāhulagrahaṇa affirms the transgression of all *vidhi*-s in the Veda-s. The *vidhi*-s are diversely applied regularly, not so regularly, sometimes optionally, sometimes avoided, and even sometimes something else gets followed. Hence, *bāhulaka* is applied quite sporadically. The *vyatyaya*-s explained above can also be considered as the examples of *bāhulaka*. This notion, has been, pointed out in the paper at the relevant places. The following passages from the Mbh. (on P. 3.3.1) are sufficient enough to explain the features of *bāhulaka*-

बाहुलकं प्रकृतेस्तनुदृष्टेः प्रायसमुच्चयनादपि तेषाम् ।
कार्यसशेषविधेश्च तदुक्तं नैगमरूढिभवं हि सुसाधु ।
नाम च धातुजमा ह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम् ।
यन्न पदार्थविशेषसमुत्थं प्रत्ययतः प्रकृतेश्च तदूह्यम् ॥

संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणि प्रत्ययाश्च ततः परे ।
कार्याद्विद्याद् अनुबन्धमेतच्छास्त्रमुणादिषु ॥

To sum up, it may be noted that the concepts of *bahula* and *vyatyaya* should be used wisely and widely to understand the Vedic language's features properly.

Now, in the light of the notions studied, let us deal with the relevant grammatical issues-

-si- Imperatives

A scholarly and constructive range of contributions on *-si-* Imperatives is available for a study. To note a few noteworthy contributions to this topic- Cardona (1965), Palsule (1972), Insler (1978), Katre (2013, pp. 271-272), etc. Let us look at *-si-* Imperatives in the light of our *maṇḍala*.

Bloomfield-Edgerton (1930:105, Paragraph 164) adds, "The forms in *si* may be constructed as an indicative….yet the atmosphere of the passages and the unambiguous imperative of the variant forms seems to suggest modal value". Watkins (1962:55) comments that such examples belong to the sibilant Aorist. "The more common situation in Vedic is one where a root athematic present has an *s*-aorist associated with it….*darṣi* – *darṣati, parṣi* – *parṣat*….. *vakṣi* – *avakṣīt, sakṣi* – *asākṣi*. In all likelihood these cases reflect a later suffixation of *-s-* to underline the aoristic value of a bilateral root form originally unmarked as to aspect….. This situation doubtless itself reflects an earlier state of affairs in Indo-European when there was no opposition between Aorist and imperfect". Cardona (*op. cit.* 1 FN 1) also supports that they function as part of the sigmatic Aorist; earlier, they were also part of the *-s-* Aorist system. To explain the concept, one may say 'forms morphologically belonging to the Pres. Indic. *Ma.P.* Sg. but bearing the semantic sense of Imper.' Thus, they have been termed as '*-si-* Imperatives.' (Also see Whitney, 1955:297 Paragraph no. 624).

Here are some morphological features of *-si-* Imperatives-

1. Complete absence of any class sign.
2. Resemblance with the *adādi-gaṇa*.
3. Always having the suffix *si,* which morphologically resembles the *lAṬ-lakāra.*

Katre *(op. cit.)* extends the meaning of P. 3.4.88 to consider the principle of optionality for both *si-hi* and *pit-apit*. This interpretation, indeed, helps us to explain the notion of imperatives of *-si* ending. It may be added to the explanation that all *vidhi*-s are optional and interchangeable in the Veda-s. However, the problem occurs when the same form is paraphrased in two ways- in the sense of Indic. and Imper. Debrunner, quoted by Cardona *(op. cit. 2),* aptly asserts that these *-si* imperatives are "*immer noch nicht sicher erklärt*" (still not explained for sure), and Cardona adds that this remains true till today. Let us take examples of such class-sign-less and *si*-ending verbal forms from our *maṇḍala*.

1. अ॒त्येषि॑ - 97.31[3] (= अतीत्य गच्छसि)

2. a. असि॑ – 65.4 (= भवसि), 85.2 (= भवसि), 97.55 (thrice) (= भवसि)

   b. अ॒सि॒ - 2.10 (= भवसि), 18.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 (= भवसि), 47.5 (= भवसि), 59.4 with अ॒भि (= अभिभवसि), 61.20 (= भवसि), 64.1, 2 (= भवसि), 66.3 (= भवसि), 67.1, 13 (= *bhavasi*), 86.28, 38, 39 (= भवसि), 88.3, 4 (twice), 7 (twice), 97.29 (= भवसि), 104.5, 109.6.

3. a. एषि॑ - 50.2 (= गच्छसि)

   b. ए॒षि॒ - 96.23 (= अगच्छसि), 97.14 (twice = गच्छसि), 97.55 with सम् (= सम्यक्प्राप्नोषि)

4. ***च॒क्षि॒*** - 97.33 with **अर्व** (=अवस्तात्पश्य)

5. a. ***जेषि॑*** - 4.1 (= जय)

   b. जे॒षि॒ - 44.7 (= जय)

6. द॒र्षि॒ - 68.7 with आ (= आविदारयसि विवृतं करोषि ।)

7. पर्येषि - 82.2 (= परिगच्छसि), 83.1 (= परिगच्छसि), 106.14 (= सर्वतः परिगच्छसि)

8. a. ***पर्षि॑*** - 1.3 (= अस्मभ्यं प्रयच्छ)

   b. ***प॒र्षि॒***- 70.10 (= दूरान् अतीत्य पारय)

9. भा॒सि॒ - 97.32 with वि (= विशेषेण राजसि)

10. **मत्सि॑** - 90.5 (six times) ***(= तर्पय)***, 94.5 ***(= सोमेन तर्पय)***, 97.42 (five times) (1st occurrence- ***मादय***, 2nd – ***तर्पयसि***, 3rd – no meaning given, 4th – हर्षयसि, 5th - ***मादय***),

11. मा॒सि॒ - 76.3 (= निर्मासि)

---

[3] Hereafter, the No. '9' will be excluded while referring all the forms from the *maṇḍala* IX.

12. या॒सि॒ - 82.2 with परि॑ (= परिगच्छसि), 83.5 with परि॑ (= परिगच्छसि), 87.9 with परि॑ (= परिगच्छसि), 100.8 with परि॑ (Not recorded by Sāy., but could be guesses based on the paraphrase given) (= परिगच्छसि)

13. रा॒सि॒ - 9.9 (= प्रयच्छसि)

14. अ॒र्ष॒सि॒ - 54.4 with परि॑ (= परितः क्षर)

Macd. (1968:336) lists following *-si* imperatives *kṣesi, jeṣi,, joṣi, darṣi, dhakṣi, nakṣi, neṣi, parṣi, prāsi, bhakṣi, matsi, māsi, yakṣi, yaṃsi, yāsi, yotsi, ratsi, rāsi, vakṣi, veśi, śroṣi, sakṣi, satsi, hoṣi, amīṣi, bravīṣi.*

The list given above has the *-si* imperatives from the RV. *maṇḍala* IX ***(bold and italicized)***. However, as mentioned above, the problem occurs when the same form is paraphrased in two ways- in the sense of Indic. And Imper. A similar case can be viewed with the verb मत्सि॑. The form has been paraphrased in both manners, Indic. And Imper. -

मत्सि॑ - 90.5 (six times) ***(= तर्पय)***, 94.5 ***(= सोमेन तर्पय)***, 97.42 (five times) (1st occurrence- ***मादय***, 2nd – तर्पयसि, 3rd – no meaning given, 4th – हर्षयसि, 5th – ***मादय***)

Additionally, some of the forms recorded by Macd. do not imply the Imper. sense in our *maṇḍala*. Sāy., most of the time, explains this linguistic phenomenon as छान्दसो विकरणस्य लुक् (SB. on RV. 1.129.5, 1.31.18, 1.1.63, etc.).

It is noteworthy to consider the opinion Bloomfield-Edgerton *(op. cit.)* stated that the Indic. forms get the modal value of Imper. in the environment of a sentence. The sigmatic Aorist nature, opined by Watkins, should be tested with the modern Indo-European languages as suggested by Cardona *(op. cit. 6)*. However, such *-si* imperatives have been carried by the modern Indo-European languages differently. Let us take some examples from Indian languages-

1. Marathi- तू मला एक पुस्तक देशील. (*tū małā eka pustaka deśīla*) *You are* giving a book to me.

2. Bengali-আপনি আমাকেএকটিবই *দিচ্ছেন*. (*āpani āmāke ekaṭi bai dicchena*) *You are* giving a book to me.

3. English- *You are giving* a book to me.

These sentences, however, may look like Indic. Nevertheless, the sense conveyed belongs to Imper. mode. The sentences in a specific environment may not function as describing an act of giving a book but may sound like a command to hand over a book. In Veda, one can find such examples only in *Ma.P.* Sg., but in these languages, the examples are found in *Pr.P.* & *madhyama-puruṣa* (*Ma.P.*) Sg. dual (Dl.), and Pl. senses also.

Let us take a detailed account of the select forms to highlight the issues and possible answers-

1. अक्रा॑न् - 64.9 (= अक्रमीत्), 97.40 (= सर्वान् अति क्रामति)

- Root Aorist Indicative (Indic.) *lUṄ Pr.P.* Sg. *PP.* of *kradI / krand vaiklavye* cl. 1 Macd. 499.

- Accented (both the forms) on the augment (P. 6.4.71) being *pādādi* (P. 8.1.18).

- Sāy. On RV. 9.97.40 - क्रमतेर्लुङि तिपि इट् अभावे वृद्धौ च कृतायां सिज्लोपे मकारस्य मो नो धातोः इति नकारे रूपम् । But on RV. 2.11.8, he comments, | क्रमतेर्लङि बहुलं छन्दसि इति विकरणस्य लुक् ।

- Macd. (1968:366 Paragraph 499 & 522) treats the form as the Root Aorist and *-s-* Aorist of the root *krand.* Whitney (1963:24) looks upon the form as the *-s-* Aorist of the root *krand.*

- Vishva Bandhu (1960:329) also looks upon the form derived from the root *krand.*

- Grassmann[4] treats the form of the rood *krand.*

- Jamison-Brereton[5] (JB.) (81) suggests the root *krand.*

---

[4] Online dictionary developed by the Institute of Indology and Tamil Studies, Cologne University.https//www.sanskrit-lexicon.uni-koeln.de/

- Let us compare some *mantra-s* from the IXth *maṇḍala* related to Soma.

i. अक्रा॑न्दे॒वो न सूर्यः॑ । (64.9)

ii. अक्रा॑न्त्समुद्रः । (97.40)

iii. क्रन्द॑न्निहि॒ सूर्यस्योप॑ र॒श्मिम् । (97.33)

iv. कनि॑क्रद॒दनु पन्था॑मृतस्य॑ शु॒क्रो वि भा॑स्य॒मृत॑स्य धाम॑ । (97.32)

v. अश्वो॒ न क्रं॑दो वृष॑भिर्युजा॒नः सिं॒हो न भी॒मो मन॑सो जवी॑यान् । (97.28)

vi. अत्यो॒ न क्रं॑दो॒ हरि॒रा सृं॑जा॒नो मर्यो॑ देव धन्व प॒स्त्या॑वान् । (97.18)

vii. वृषा॒ शोणो॑ अभि॒कनि॑क्रद॒द्गा न॒दय॑न्नेति पृथि॒वीमु॒त । (97.13)

- Here, it may be observed that Soma's 'roaring' nature is conveyed through the root *krand* and *akrān*. Thus, "...the poet, by juxtaposing the simile with an inappropriate verb, is forcing the striking image of the roaring Sun, which both works as a kind of synaesthesia (the intense brightness of the sun is experienced as intense noise) and imposes a third intermediate term, a horse bull, to which both the Sun and Soma are compared" (JB.,111). It may be the roaring of the Sun's bull[6] or horse[7].

- Katre (2013:4) considers and confirms the root *krand* to suit the environment of the concerned *mantra* (RV. 2.11.8).

- However, both the roots have a great possibility in the context of the given *mantra-s* (64.9, 97.40). It can be interpreted as 'Soma passed like the Sun,' which is the direct meaning (*vācyārtha* for 64.9), and 97.40 can be paraphrased as 'Soma flowed like the sea' or 'Soma roared like the sea'

---

5. Rigveda Translation: Commentary by Stephanie W. Jamison & Joel P. Brereton. Website- http://rigvedacommentary.alc.ucla.edu/ They uploaded the PDFs to the website. The authors have used the downloaded versions.

6. See RV. 9.97.54

7. See Dange, S. A. (1974). *Aśvatthācī Pāne*. Hindu Dharma Sanskriti Mandir, Nagpur

considering अद्रिभिः पवते सुतः (RV 9.63.13, pressed by stones. The sound while pressing or churning Soma may sound like roaring).

- There is no clue to guess Sāy.'s stand to assert the root *kram* at both places.
- *Mutatis mutandis,* both the roots are possible in the given *mantra*-s.

2. अप्राः - 97.38 with आ (= आपूरयति)

- Before dealing with the identification and morpho-phonemic processes as per P., let us consider some excerpts of the SB. appearing in the other *maṇḍala*-s for the same form.
- SB. on RV. 1.52.13- प्रा पूरणे । आदादिकः लङि अडागमः, SB. on RV. 1.115.1- प्रा पूरणे । लङि पुरुषव्यत्ययः. अदादित्वात्शपो लुकः, SB. on RV. 10.1.1 प्रा पूरणे । तिङां तिङो भवन्ति इति तिपः सिबादेशः, SB. on RV. 10.106.11 प्रा पूरणे । आदादिकः. व्यत्ययेन मध्यमः ।
- Sāy. considers the form (RV. 9.97.38, 10.1.1) as having a present meaning except for RV. 1.52.13, 115.1, 10.106.11. It seems that Sāy. is advocating a particular meaning in the light of the environment of the *mantra*.
- Macd. (Macd., 1968:379, Paragraph 522) looks upon the form as *-s-* Aorist *Pr.P.* Sg. having dropped the ending *t* in the *Saṃhitā.*
- It is required to treat the form considering the interpretations of both, Sāy. and Macd. However, the notion of *vyatyaya* is fundamental to comprehending the structure of a particular form in the environment of a particular meaning. This feature is ubiquitous in the Vedic language, characterized by its spontaneous and colloquial nature. We cannot stick to one single interpretation throughout the text. In the current Indo-European languages, too, we find so many *vyatyaya-s* as explained[8] Thus, putting a cap of 'irregularity' on such forms will be, in the words of Patañjali 'साहसमात्रं वचनम्' (Mbh. *paspaśāhahnikam*).

---

[8] See the note on *-si* imperatives (pp. 15-17)

- Joshi (2009:23) comments for the same form, "As per Sāy. the form can also be *lAṄ* (Imperf.) of 2 sg. but meaningwise again we have to take it 3 sg. which is not very happy". The author differ here with respect to the notion. The examples provided by Joshi and the SB. do not assert the same. It is the style of Sāy. to give the interpretation in a parallel verbal form and explain the grammar of the desired form in the *mantra*, which is seen everywhere in the RV.

- To conclude, Sāy. and Macd. are not crossing each other semantically but on morphological grounds.

- Thus, (According) Acc. to Macd.:

  -s- Aorist Indic. *lUṄ Pr.P.* Sg. *PP.* of *prā pūraṇe* cl. 2 Macd. 522.

  aṬ + *prā* + *sIC* + *t* (dropped P. 6.1.67) (*lUṄ*)

- Acc. to P. & Sāy.

  Imperf. *lAṄ Pr.P.* Sg. *PP.* of *prā pūraṇe* cl. 2.

  aṬ + *prā* + *ŚaP* (dropped) + *s* (in the sense of *prathama-puruṣa*) (*lAṄ*)

3. a) असृ॑ग्रम् - 7.1 (= सृज्यन्ते), 13.6 with वि (=व्यतिसृज्यन्ते), 62.7 (सृज्यन्ते), 66.11 (= सृज्यन्ते)

- 62.7- Accented on the augment (P. 6.1.74) in syntactic construction with *yāḥ* (P. 8.1.66), 7.1, 13.6, 66.11- Accented on the augment (P. 6.1.74) being *pādādi* (P. 8.1.18).

- See अ॒सृ॒ग्र॒म्

  b) अ॒सृ॒ग्र॒म् - 12.1 (= सृज्यन्ते), 17.1 with प्र (= प्रगच्छन्ति), 23.1 (= असृग्रन्सृज्यन्ते), 62.1 (= सृज्यन्ते), 63.4 (= सृज्यन्ते), 26 (= सृज्यन्ते).

- Let us see SB. on different *mantra*-s containing the said verb

i. RV. 1.9.4 (असृ॑ग्रम्)- सृजविसर्गे, लङो मिप्. तुदादिभ्यः शः । (P. 3.1.77). बहुलं छन्दसि (P. 7.1.8) इत्यत्र विकरणस्य रुडागमः. जकारस्य गकारः । लुङ्-लङ्-लृङ्क्ष्वडुदात्तः इति अडागम उदात्तः.

ii. RV. 9.66.11 (असृ॑ग्रम्)- सृजेः कर्मणि तिङां तिङो भवन्ति इति झेरमादेशः ।

iii. RV. 9.23.1 (अ॒सृ॒ग्र॒म्)- असृग्रन्सृज्यन्ते ।

iv. RV. 9.97.30 (अ॒स॒सृ॒ग्रम्)- सृजेर्व्यत्ययेन कर्मार्थे लङि 'बहुलं छन्दसि' इति शस्य श्लुः झेरमादेशश्छान्दसः।

v. Walvekar (2020) deals with the basic details of the form. Joshi (2009:153-154) quotes western scholars like Griffith and Geldner for RV. 1.9.4 elucidates the difference of opinion between Sāy. and the aforementioned western scholars. Sāy. paraphrases the *mantra* in active construction; however, western scholars prefer passive construction. He accurately establishes the absence of *-ram* ending in the verbal morphology of P and describes the forms like *adṛśram abudhram* as *-a-* Aorist with *ruḍāgama*. To quote his further discussion- "But it is not possible to explain *-ram* as 3 pl. *ĀP*. in the Pāṇinian System, *-am* is evidently *PP.* and that too a Sg. Pāṇini does not recognize *-ram,* a trisyllabic element such as the ending of 3 pl. Opt. in *ĀP*. On the other hand, the western scholars, namely Whitney, Macdonell, and Grassmann, to name a few, specify *-ran* and *-ram* for 3 pl. *ĀP*. Ending in the root Aorist. An important fact about *-ran* and *-ram* is reflected upon by Oldenburg. He establishes an allomorphic situation between them. Wherever *-ran* comes, *-ram* does not come and vice-versa" (Joshi loc. cit.vi) the authors differ in details, not the conclusion in the light pt. v. The example of *asṛgram/ran* has been chosen by Joshi (loc. cit.) to explain the forms of Xth*maṇḍala- adṛśram abudhram*. These forms (*adṛśram abudhram*) have been explained (*-a-* Aorist) accurately by Joshi in the scope of P. 3.1.56 and contrasting Macd. (1968:367 Paragraph 500) who puts the forms under the Root Aorist. However, this explanation provided by Joshi does not suffice for *asṛgram/ran* in the absence of indicatory letters *IR*. SB. for RV. 1.9.4, 9.66.11, and 9.97.30 provides a consistent explanation[9] for the verbal form and categorize the same as *lAṄ* or Imperf. It is, indeed, true, as pointed out by Joshi, that SB. on RV. 1.9.4 paraphrases the form in an active sense, whereas western scholars often provide a passive meaning. It is not possible and plausible to draw strict semantic boundaries for *asṛgram/ran* in this *maṇḍala*. Let us understand this in a tabular form. We will also take note of the place of the forms in the metrical foot, and this will help us to discuss a point mentioned by Oldenburg later-

---

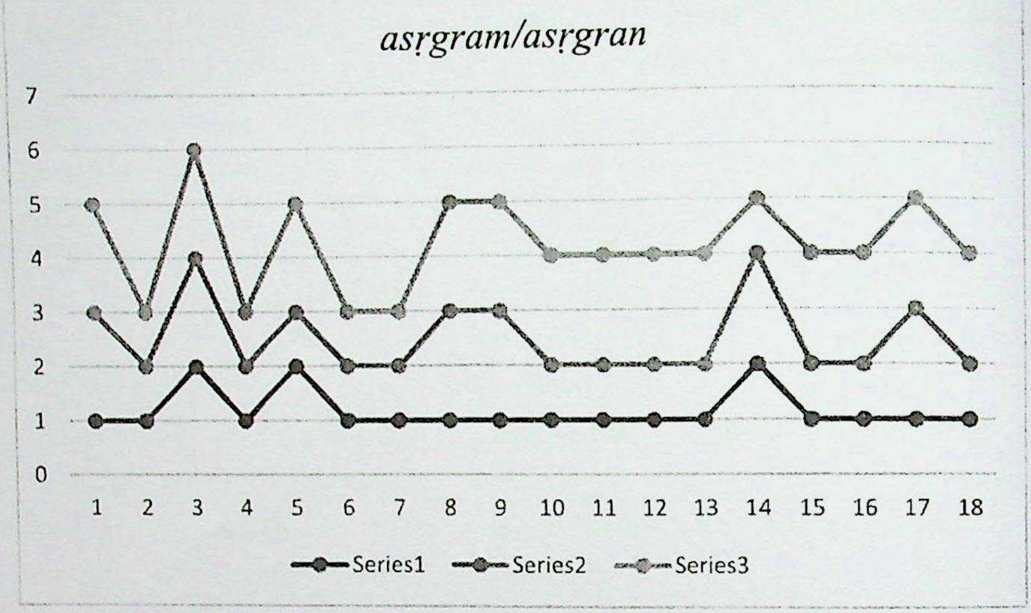
[9] Unlike *akrān* (RV. 9.64.9, 2.11.8)

RV. no.	Verbal Form	SB.	Griffith	JB.	Metrical Foot
47.1	असृ॑ग्रन्	सृज्यन्ते	Riseth	Becoming Exhilarated	Within metrical foot before a consonant
67.17	असृ॑ग्रन्	विसृज्यन्ते ऋत्विग्भिः प्रदीयन्ते	They were sent….	They have been released	Within metrical foot before a consonant
86.4 with प्र	असृग्रन्	गच्छन्ति	Poured with the milk	Heavenly hymns…. surged with their milk	Within metrical foot before a consonant
87.5 with अ॒भि	अ॒सृ॒ग्र॒न्	सृज्यन्ते	These have been sent forth	These Soma drinks have been sent	End of metrical foot before a consonant
88.6 with अ॒भि	अ॒सृ॒ग्र॒न्		Have been effused and poured	…. Towards the tubs at will when pressed….	End of metrical foot
96.22 with प्र	अ॒सृ॒ग्र॒न्	प्रसृज्यन्ते	His streams have been effused	… streams have been sent surging forth…	End of metrical foot before a consonant
97.29	अ॒सृ॒ग्र॒न्	सृज्यन्ते	Streams… have been effused..	… streams have been sent surging….	End of metrical foot before a consonant
97.31 with प्र	अ॒सृ॒ग्र॒न्	प्रसृज्यन्ते	…. Streams poured forth…	Streams have surged forth	End of metrical foot before a consonant
7.1	असृ॑ग्रम्	सृज्यन्ते	Drops have flowed	The drops have surged	Within a metrical foot before a vowel
13.6 with	असृ॑ग्रम्	व्यतिसृज्यन्ते	They were poured forth	They have surged	Within a metrical foot before the

RV. no.	Verbal Form	SB.	Griffith	JB.	Metrical Foot
वि					semivowel
62.7	असृ॑ग्रम्	सृज्यन्ते	Streams… were poured	Streams… have surged forth..	Within metrical foot before a vowel
66.11	असृ॑ग्रम्	सृज्यन्ते	They have been poured upon	They have surged	Within metrical foot before the semivowel
12.1	असृ॑ग्रम्	सृज्यन्ते	Soma drops…. being poured	The Soma juices have surged	Within metrical foot before a vowel
17.1 with प्र	अ॒सृ॒ग्र॒म्	प्रगच्छन्ति	Soma-streams have flowed	Soma juices have been sent surging	Within metrical foot before a vowel
23.1	अ॒सृ॒ग्र॒म्	असृग्रन्सृज्यन्ते	Soma drops have been effused	Soma juices have surged forth	Within metrical foot before a vowel
62.1	अ॒सृ॒ग्र॒म्	सृज्यन्ते	Soma drops have been poured	These drops have surged	Within metrical foot before a vowel
63.4	अ॒सृ॒ग्र॒म्	सृज्यन्ते	These Somas….have flowed	These…. Have surged	Within metrical foot before a vowel
63.26	अ॒सृ॒ग्र॒म्	सृज्यन्ते	These Pavamanas have been shed	These…. have surged	Within metrical foot before a vowel

Table 1: *asṛgram/asṛgran*

If we try to find an intersecting point (common point) of variations of meanings (given by SB., Griffith, and JB.) of these verbs, then we might figure it out like this-



"Variations in the meanings"

X-axis- Verbal forms. Y axis- Active/Passive/Reflexive senses

Diagram: 1

- This proves that there is no consensus regarding the form of the active/passive/reflexive sense. The forms paraphrased by Sāy. itself gives a picture of variations in a nutshell.

- Thus, we can conclude the point on the following notes-

i. It is unlikely to fix either the active or passive meaning for *asṛgran/asṛgram*.

ii. Considering the range of opinions of the traditional Indian and western scholars, the forms can be identified by both the ways- Imperf. *lAṄ* passive *Pr.P.* Pl. *ĀP*. of *sṛjA visarge* or Root Aorist *lUṄ* Indic. *Pr.P.* Pl. *ĀP*. of *sṛjA visarge* (Macd. 500 with ending *-ran* & *-ram*). The authors wish to consider the form as Imperf. in the light of Sāy. and P. 7.1.8, mutatis mutandis, such finalized remarks can be taken up for further studies.

- Oldenburg, quoted by Joshi (2009:154), "*-ran* always at the end of metrical foot, within the metrical foot before the consonants, and before the vowels only in the case of caesura of the *Triṣṭubh* and *Jagatī* meters. Furthermore *-ram* in the remaining position, i.e., only within the metrical foot before vowels and semivowel *v*". There is no doubt about it in the IXth *maṇḍala*. One can use Oldenburg's principles to cherish his extraordinary observation.

- This also means that *asṛgran* and *asṛgram* are substitutes for each other and appear in a suitable environment. The allomorphic situation is particularly noted by Sāy. on RV. 9.23.1.

4. जिघ्नते - 1.10 with आ (= आहन्ति), 14.4 with सम् (= संगतो भवति)

   - Pres. Indic. *lAṬ Pr.P.* Sg. (1.10), Pl. (14.4) *ĀP.* of *hanA hiṃsāgatyoḥ* cl. 2 Macd. 432 (1993)

   - SB. on 1.54.10 - हन्तेर्गत्यर्था त्व्यत्ययेनात्मनेपदम् । बहुलं छन्दसि इति शपः श्लुः । अर्तिपिपर्त्योश्च, बहुलं छन्दसि इति अभ्यासस्य इत्वम् ।

   - Palsule (1978:86) accurately suggests that P. should have included *jighna* as a substitute for *han* in the context of AA. 7.3.78. However, the authors differ from the pt. c. mentioned by him- "Sāy. looks upon the form…as pl…. which is evidently erroneous". The Vedic language exhibits its spontaneous nature with a pinch of colloquial sense. It is possible to observe the usage of singular verbal form in a plural sense and vice versa. The phenomenon can also be observed in the modern Indo-European languages. For instance, in Marathi, पानिपतावर लाख बांगडी फुटली (*pānipatāvara lākha bāṃgaḍī phuṭalī*), here the *kriyāpada* फुटली (*phuṭalī*) is in singular, but the sense conveyed is plural (Lacs of bangles were broken on the battlefield of Panipat. Literally, uncountable women were widowed). Alternatively, widespread usage in English 'you are' denotes Sg. as well as Pl. senses.

   - P. also hints at a maxim or floating expression *jātau bahuvacanam* through A. 1.2.58. The *Kāśikāvṛtti* is also mentioning the same principle under P.

1.1.47- जातौ च इदम् एकवचनम् Hence, it is undoubtedly, admissible to interpret a singular verbal form in a plural sense in a specific environment. (See the note on *-si* Imperatives (pp. 15-17))

5. तो॒श॒से॒ - 45.2 (= पीयसे), 63.23 with नि (= नितरां पीडयसि)

- Pres. Indic. *lAṬ Ma.P.* Sg. *ĀP*. of *toś* Macd. 422.
- P. does not provide any root like *tuś* or *toś* in the given semantic context.
- Bhave (*op. cit.* pp. 93-94) has given a detailed explanation of the form. He mentions *Nighaṇṭu* providing the form *nitośate* in the sense of *nibarhaṇa*. However, *Nighaṇṭu* provides the meaning only in the sense of *vadhakarman* (19.29), which is conveyed through the form in RV. 9.63.23.
- It is interesting to note the meaning of shade given by Sāy. in RV. 9.45.2- *pīyase*. Soma is drunk for the sake of Indra. This meaning is very new and unusual.
- SB. on RV. 9.63.23 reflects the meaning as mentioned in the *Nighaṇṭu*. Soma kills the foes for his worshippers.
- It can be comprehended with the help of the given explanation that Soma destroys the foes, and the act of *tośana* of Soma, i.e., crushing, etc., is being performed for Indra. So, Sāy.'s interpretation of RV. 9.45.2 (*pīyase*) suggests the processes to produce the Soma-rasa hinted in the SB. on RV. 9.27.1.

6. पी॒पयं॑त् - 6.7 (= आप्यायितवत्)

- Accented radically being in syntactic construction with *yam* (P. 8.1.30)
- The forms and their cognate forms have been observed and interpreted in different ways by Sāy. Let us have a look at them-

Sl. No.	Form	RV. no.	SB.
1.	पी॒प॒य॒	3.15.6	वर्धय । पा पाने ण्यन्तस्य लुङि चङि द्विर्वचनाभ्यासदीर्घौ । सिपो लोपश्छान्दसः ।
2.	पी॒प॒य॒ः	1.63.8	प्रावर्धयः । स्फायी ओप्यायी वृद्धौ । ण्यन्तात्छान्दसे लुङि प्यायः पी (P.6.1.8) इति व्यत्ययेन पीभावः । 'णिश्रिद्रुस्रु' इति च्लेः चङादेशः । णिलोपादीनि । यद्वा 'पीङ् पाने' इत्यस्मात् लुङि चङि पूर्ववत् । 'बहुलं छन्दस्यमाङ्योगेऽपि' इति अडभावः ।
3.	पी॒पय॑त्	3.57.6	वर्धयति । पा पाने । ण्यन्तस्य लुङि चङि रूपम् । चङ्यन्यतरस्याम् इति चङि परतः पूर्व स्योदत्तत्वम् । यद्वृत्तयोगादनिघातः ।
4.	पी॒पय॑त्	10.133.7	ओप्यायी वृद्धौ । ण्यन्ताश्छान्दसो लुङ् । व्यत्ययेन धातोः पीभावः । अडभावश्छान्दसः ।
5.	पी॒प॒य॒त्	1.77.5	अपिबत् । पा पाने ण्यन्तात् लुङि च्लेश्चङादि ।

Table 2:

- It can be noticed here that Sāy. is providing the root for the form as per the context. In the context of RV. 9.6.7, we may consider the root *Opyāyl vṛddhau*.
- Reduplicated Aorist Indic. *lUṄ Pr.P.* Sg. *PP.Opyāyl vṛddhau* cl. 1 Macd. (not recorded)
- Katre (2013:146) considers a cognate form *pīpayataḥ* as Pres. Indic. *lAṬ Pr.P.* Dl. *PP.* of *pi* cl. 3 as an example of Vedic *Ślu* (irregular variation of short and long vowels). She also comments that the form can equally be from Perfect (*lIṬ*) And intensive stems.

7. हा॒स॒ते॒ - 27.5 (= *parityajate*)

- Pres. Subjunctive (Subj.) *lEṬ Pr.P.* Sg. *ĀP.* of *OhāṄ gatau* cl. 3 Macd. is not recording the form (He recorded अ॒हा॒स॒त॒ though!)

- Acc. to P.:

  hā + sIP + aṬ + te (lEṬ)

- SB. on RV... 10.127. ओहाङ्गतौ । लेट्यडागमः सिब्बहुलं इति सिप् ।

- c.f. अहासत

- It is, indeed, quite surprising to us that the root, its usage, and Sāy.'s interpretation [the same can be observed with Veṅkaṭamādhava (VM.) too]. Sāy, however, punningly shows Soma in connection with the sun.

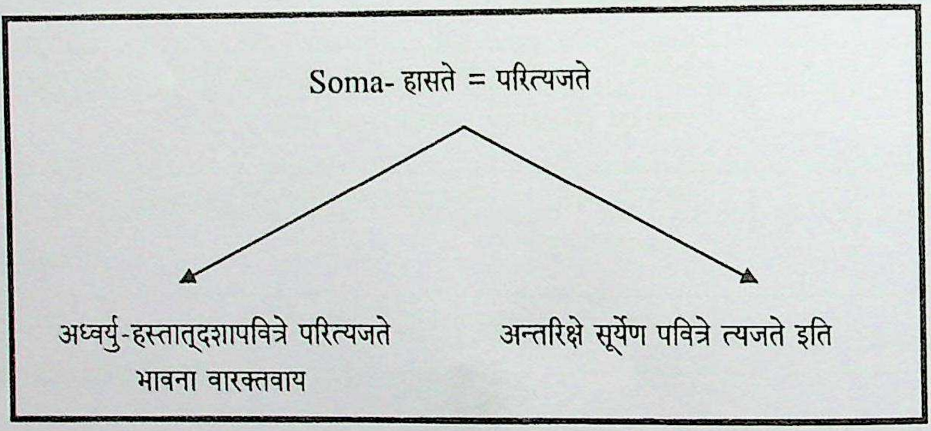

Soma- हासते = परित्यजते
अध्वर्यु-हस्तात्दशापवित्रे परित्यजते भावना वारक्तवाय
अन्तरिक्षे सूर्येण पवित्रे त्यजते इति

Diagram 2: u हासते

Another possibility raised by Bhave (1960:49) is to take the root *hās* as a developed form of *bhās*. Let us understand this-

i. *bhās* 'to shine' can be at the origin of *hās* 'to shine' with the loss of the plosive element *bha*. Nevertheless, **bhās* is not available in the RV. Narten supports the same (1964: pp 285-286).

ii. He gives some parallel examples- *hṛ=bhṛ, han=*ghan.*

iii. He also quotes RV. 8.23.20 and *Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā* 12.32, where *bhās* has occurred as a noun and verb, respectively (*subhāsam* and *bhāsan*). This is paving the way for *bhās* > *hās*.

iv. He quotes RV. 1.169.2, where the *hāsamānā* has appeared, and VM. is interpreting the word as '*dīpyamāna*.'

v. However, Bhave has deliberately not taken note of Sāy. who explains the word as 'हासं कुर्वती हर्षयुक्ता भवति'. Another example can be from RV. 3.33.1- *hāsamāne*, where Sāy. and VM. give the same meaning- *spardhamāne* (to race with).

vi. Whitney quoted by Bhave- *hās* is doubtlessly derived from the sigmatic Aorist stem of *hā*.

8. We were unable to resolve some of the issues-

स रं॑हत उरु॒गायस्य॑ जू॒तिं वृथा॒ क्रीळ॑न्तं मिमते॒ न गावः॑ ।

प॒री॒ण॒सं कृ॑णुते ति॒ग्मशृं॑ङ्गो॒ दिवा॒ हरि॑र्द दृशे॒ नक्तमृ॒जः ॥ (RV. 9.97.9)

ए॒ष स्य सोमो॑ म॒तिभिः॑ पुना॒नोऽत्यो॒ न वा॒जी त॒रतीदरा॑तीः ।

पयो॒ न दुग्धमदि॑तेरिषि॒रमुर्वि॑व गातुः सुयमो॒ न वोळ्हा॑ ॥ (RV. 9.96.15)

SB. on both the *mantra*-s on the forms respectively, comments- यद्वृत्तयोगादनिघातः (in the absence of *yad* in both the *mantra*-s) which makes us clueless to understand the accentuation of the forms. Apart from the possibility of *yad,* no observations by P. regarding the Vedic accentuation can be applied here. This is one of the perplexing doubts in the *maṇḍala* with respect to the *PadaP*.

Conclusion

The concluding remarks for the paper are not precisely meant for the forms discussed here. They are being recorded here for all the forms observed in the *maṇḍala*. The authors would like to note that general observations like 'all types of Aorist can be found in the *maṇḍala*' have been excluded from the segment. The most intrinsic reflections can be listed below-

1. One can observe a considerable range of तिङां तिङो भवन्ति. This is a very common, important, and challenging Vedic phenomenon. A few examples from our *maṇḍala*-

i. अ॒प्रा॒ः - 97.38

SB. on RV. 1.52.13- प्रा पूरणे । आदादिकः. लङि अडागमः ।

SB. on RV. 1.115.1- प्रा पूरणे । लङि पुरुषव्यत्ययः. अदादित्वात्शपो लुक्र ।

SB. on RV. 10.1.1 प्रा पूरणे । तिङां तिङो भवन्ति इति तिपः सिब्-आदेशः ।

SB. on RV. 10.106.11 प्रा पूरणे । आदादिकः. व्यत्ययेन मध्यमः ।

ii. असृ॑ग्रम् 66.11

SB. - सृजेः कर्मणि तिङां तिङो भवन्ति इति झेरमादेशः ।

2. It may be, positively, noted that mere Pāṇini's *Dhātupāṭha* (PDP.) is not sufficient to comprehend the Vedic roots. It is required to take help of *Nirukta-Nighaṇṭu* more often. The examples can be detailed as bellow-

i. ई॒म॒हे॒ - 2.8 (= याचामहे), 48.1 (= याचामहे), 66.20 (= याचामहे), 74.1(= याचामहे)

The *Nighaṇṭu* (3.19.1) categorizes this root √ *ī* 'याच्ञाकर्माणः'.

ii. त॒क्ति॒ - 16.1 (= गच्छति)

Although the root is recorded by P. as *takA hasane* in the *bhvādi-gaṇa* the meaning given by Sāy. does not align with this. Hence, the following sources can be referred-

a. *Nighaṇṭu* (2.14.68) mentions- तकति.....गतिकर्माणः ।

b. SB. on RV. 9.67.15- तकिर्गतिकर्मा ।

iii. न॒न॒क्षे - 93.1 (= व्याप्नोति । नक्षति व्याप्तिकर्मा ।)

The root √*nakṣ* cannot be found in the PDP. Hence, we can see *Nighaṇṭu* 2.18.2- नक्षति व्याप्ति कर्मा to understand the root and so the form.

iv. न॒व॒न्त॒ - 88.2 (= गच्छन्तु)

न॒व॒न्ते॒ – 86.25 with अ॒भि (= अभिगच्छन्ति), 27 with अव॑ (= गच्छन्ति), 97.35 with सम् (= संगच्छन्ते), 100.1 with अ॒भि (= अभिगच्छन्ति)

The PDP. does contain phonetically cognate roots like √ *nu* etc., but none helps us to understand the structure of these two forms. Therefore, again, we need to go back to the *Nighaṇṭu* and SB.-

SB.- नवतिर्गतिकर्मा । *Nighaṇṭu* (2.14.29)

SB. on RV. 9.86.5 नवते क्षोदते. गतिकर्मसु अयं पठितः ।

3. The forms like असृ॑ग्रन् and असृ॑ग्रम् helped us to note-

   i. Existing allomorphs like *-ram* and *-ran*

   ii. Allomorphic changes in such forms are not random, as stated in the description. We can draw a specific pattern.

   iii. A wide range of these forms asserts that we cannot permanently affix active/passive meaning shades to a specific verbal form. It gets changed based on the linguistic environment of the form.

   iv. Allomorphs are subject to change based on their place in a metrical foot.

4. An interesting range of semantic changes and pragmatic shades is seen in the *maṇḍala*. Let us take some examples-

   अस्वा॑पयत् - 97.54 (= असूषुषत् अवधीत् इत्यर्थः)

   In order to understand the semantical boundaries of √ *ÑIsvap śaye* (to sleep) should be pushed more and expanded upto 'trouncing somebody' in this context and also understand Sāy. specifically.

   त॑रति - 96.15 (= तरत्येव हिनस्त्येव)

   Accepting the pragmatic shade of 'outstrips' is helpful to understand the meaning entirely.

i. नि॒ंस॒ते॒ - 85.3 (= गच्छन्ति)

   A doubt gets cherished in mind to comprehend the drastic shift in the meaning because P. records as *ṇisI cumbane.*

ii. दि॒दी॒हि - 108.9 with अभि (= आभिमुख्येन प्रकाशय)

SB. on RV. 1.113.17- दिदेतिश्छान्दसो दीप्तिकर्मा (दीदयति....ज्वलति-कर्माणः *Nighaṇṭu* 1.13.4.)

PDP. reads the root *dī* in the sense of *kṣaya* in cl. 4. We may bring here *padavyatyaya* and *dhātūnām anekārthatā* in order to arrive at the form. So, a root can be semantically interpreted in different ways.

5. There is a possibility in the Vedic language that the root तर्* must be used to denote the action of 'killing' The latter language has a different meaning of the cognate roots of the same. We can propose this based on two forms-

i. तर॑ति - 96.15 (= *taraty eva hinasty eva*)

ii. ति॒र - 19.7 with नि नि नि (= *nāśaya*)

This root might have resulted in the expanded meaning of *tṝ plavanataraṇayoḥ* (*taraṇa*- Sending someone or something on the other side) or *UtṛdIR hiṃsāsaṅkleśanayoḥ*.

6. Sometimes, a form cannot be understood in the light of the *mantra* where it is present. One has to take an overview of multiple *mantra*-s across the Veda. We can arrive at a categorical conclusion after such a detailed overview. The form अक्रान् is an example of such a survey.

To sum up, it is categorically, important the Pāṇinian frame of explaining a verbal form, Sāyaṇa's perspective along with the western method of interpretation. Time and again, we should continue contemplating this- 'There is no *pūrvapakṣa* and *uttarapakṣa* in the domain of the Vedic Grammar.' We may have '*samādhāna-pakṣa,*' but no answer can be ultimate in this domain. The Vedic language, which is very engaging, should be studied using all such perspectives. The work does not claim that it has achieved this goal to the fullest, but a humble attempt has been made. It has been attempted to understand the language with the help of many available tools, just like trying to encapsulate the sea in our hollowed hands.

References:

A) Primary sources (Including Sanskrit/English/Marathi/Hindi commentaries and translations)-

- Abhyankar Vasudev (Ed.) 2006. *Śrīmadbhagavatpatañjaliviracita Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya* (Vol. 2), Pune: Sanskrit Vidya Parisanstha.
- Abhyankar Vasudev (Ed.) 2006. *Śrīmadbhagavatpatañjaliviracita Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya* (Vol. 1), Pune: Sanskrit Vidya Parisanstha.
- Abhyankar Vasudev (Translated), and Abhyankar Kashinath Vasudev (Ed.) 2006. *Śrīmadbhagavatpatañjaliviracita Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya* (Vol. 3), Pune: Sanskrit Vidya Parisanstha.
- Abhyankar Vasudev (Translated), and Abhyankar Kashinath Vasudev (Ed.). 2006. *Śrīmadbhagavatpatañjaliviracita Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya* (Vol. 5), Pune: Sanskrit Vidya Parisanstha.
- Abhyankar Vasudev (Translated), and Abhyankar Kashinath Vasudev (Ed.). 2006. *Śrīmadbhagavatpatañjaliviracita Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya* (Vol. 6), Pune: Sanskrit Vidya Parisanstha.
- Abhyankar Vasudev (Translated), and Abhyankar Kashinath Vasudev (Ed.). 2006. *Śrīmadbhagavatpatañjaliviracita Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya* (Vol. 4), Pune: Sanskrit Vidya Parisanstha.
- Böhtlingk Otto (Ed.) 1964. *Pāṇini's Grammatik*,Berlin: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Dixit Pushpa 2010. *Aṣṭādhyāyī-Sūtrapāṭha*, New Delhi: Samskrit-Bharati.
- Dixit Pushpa 2010. *Prakriyānusārī Pāṇinīya-dhātupāṭha*, New Delhi: Samskrit-Bharati.
- Griffith Ralph 1967. *The Hymns of Ṛgveda*, New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Jamison W. Stephanie and Brereton Joel P 2014. *The Rigveda- The Earliest Religious Poetry of India,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Joshi P. P. 2009. *Vedic Aorist and Pāṇini,* New Delhi: Eastern book linkers.
- Rajavade V. K. 1940. *Yāska's Nirukta* (Volume 1), Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- Sarup, Laxman (Tr.) 1967. *The Nighaṇṭu and The Nirukta,* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Sontakke N. S. and Kashikar C. G. 1946. *Ṛgvedasamhitā* (Vol. 4), Pune: Vaidika Samshodhana Mandala.
- Sontakke N. S. et. al. (Year unavailable in the edition used) *Ṛgvedasamhitā* (Vol. 1), Pune: Vaidika Samshodhana Mandala.
- Sontakke N. S., Varadarajasharma T. S. Kashikar C. G. et.al. 1936. *Ṛgvedasamhitā* (Vol. 2), Pune: Vaidika Samshodhana Mandala.
- Sontakke N. S., Varadarajasharma T. S. Kashikar C. G. et.al. 1941. *Ṛgvedasamhitā* (Vol. 3), Pune: Vaidika Samshodhana Mandala.

B) Secondary sources (books)-

- Bhave, S. S. 1962. *Soma Hymns of Ṛgveda* (Part III), Baroda: Oriental Institute Baroda.
- Bloomfield Mauriceand Edgerton Franklin 1930. *Vedic Variants* (Vol. I), New York: Linguistics Society of America.
- Dange, S. A. 1974. *Aśvatthācī Pāne*, Nagpur: Hindu Dharma Sanskriti Mandir.
- Devi Shantipriya 1992. *The Verbal Forms in Ṛgveda with special reference to Maṇḍala- IV,* Unpublished thesis submitted to University of Pune, 1992.
- Dixit Pushpa 2019. *Pāṇinīyaṁ Vaidikavyākaraṇam,* Delhi: Jnyanabharati Publications.
- Jamison, W. Stephanie, and Brereton, Joel P. Notes on the *Ṛgveda* (Published online) http://rigvedacommentary.alc.ucla.edu/
- Katre Shailaja 2013. *Verbal forms of the Ṛgveda: Maṇḍala II,* Pune: Vaidika Samshodhan Mandal.

- Macdeonell A. A. 1968. *Vedic Grammar*, Delhi: Indological book house.
- Macdeonell A. A. 1993. *A Vedic Grammar for students*, Delhi: Motilal Banarasidas Publishers.
- Narten Johanna 1964. *Die Sigmatischen Aoriste Im Veda.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Palsule G. B. 1978. *Verbal forms of the Ṛgveda (Maṇḍala VI)*, Pune: Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit.
- Pradhan Shubhangi 1988. *Verbal forms in Ṛgveda Maṇḍala III.* Unpublished doctoral thesis submitted to University of Pune.
- Shete Suvarna 1988. *The verbal forms in Ṛgveda Maṇḍala VII.* Unpublished doctoral thesis submitted to University of Pune.
- Vaidya Uma 2003. *Optionals in Sanskrit Language and Pāṇini*, Mumbai: Shri Dvarakadhish Charities.
- Watkins Calvert 1969. *Indo-European Origins of the Celtic Verbs- 1- Sigmatic Aorist*, Dublin: The Dublin Institute of the Advanced Studies.

C) Lexicons-

- Apte, Vaman Shivaram (Ed.). *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary-* Accessed online- https://www.sanskrit-lexicon.unikoeln.de/scans/AP90Scan/2020/web/index.php)
- Grassman, Hermann (Ed.) 1964. *Wörterbuch zum Ṛgveda*. Otto Harrassowitz.
- Vishvabandhu (Ed.) 1960. *A Grammatical Word Index to the Four Vedas Part*, Hoshiarpur: Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute.
- Vishvabandhu (Ed.) 1963. *A Grammatical Word Index to the Four Vedas Part 2*, Hoshiarpur: Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute.
- Vishvabandhu (Ed.) 1964. *Ṛgveda (with Padapāṭha and Vṛttis by Mudgala, Udgītha, Skandasvamī, Veṅkaṭamādhava)* Part VI, Hoshiarpur: Vishveshvarananda Vedic Research Institute Publication.

- Vishvabandhu (Ed.) 1976. *Vaidika Padānukramakośaḥ* (*A Vedic Word Concordance*), Hoshiarpur: Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute.
- Whitney W. D. 1963. *The Roots, Verb-Forms and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language,* New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited.

D) Research Articles-

- Bloomfield Maurice 1884.' On Certain Irregular Vedic Subjunctives or Imperatives' in *The American Journal of Philology*, vol. 5, no. 1, Marlyalnd: Johns Hopkins University Press, https://doi.org/10.2307/287419.
- Cardona George 1965. 'The Vedic Imperatives in -si'in *Language*, Vol. 41, No. 1, New York: Linguistic Society of America, pp. 1–18, https://doi.org/10.2307/411848.
- Insler Stanley 1972. 'Some Irregular Vedic Imperatives'In *Language*, Vol. 48, No. 3, New York: Linguistic Society of America, pp. 551–65, https://doi.org/10.2307/412033.
- Joshi Prasad 2012. 'The Riphita in the Vedic Padapāṭha and Linguistic Ambiguity.' In *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. 72/73, Pune: Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute (Deemed University), pp. 467–69, http://www.jstor.org/stable/43610726.
- Palsule G. B. 1972. 'Pāṇini 3.4.87-88 vis-à-vis Vedic Imperatives in -si' in *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth* Vol. XXVIII, Prayag: Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, pp. 443-453.
- Palsule G. B. 1991. 'Pāṇini and the Vedic Verbal System'in *Panels of the VIIth World Sanskrit Conference,* Vol. V- *Pāṇini and the Veda,* Leiden: Brill, pp. 56-64.
- Walvekar Manish Rajan 2020. 'A study of some peculiar Aorist forms in the *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala* IX' in: *Journal of Indian Intellectual Tradition,* Volume XIII, No. 2, Pune: Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Savitribai Phule Pune University, pp. 108-120.

THEORY OF MATTER IN JAIN PHILOSOPHY

Sapna Jain*

Abstract: The concept of matter has undergone a great number of changes in the history of human thinking. Different interpretations have been given in different philosophical systems. Jain philosophy is one of the most ancient Indian philosophies. To grasp properly the Jain views, regarding the theory of matter, it is necessary to understand the nature of reality because matter (*pudgala)* is one of the six ultimate realities which are accepted in Jain philosophy. *Sat, dravya, tattva, artha* and *padārtha* etc are used as denotations for reality in Jain philosophy[1]. From this point of view all existing sentient and non-sentient objects of this universe are *sat.* The present paper aims at an analysis of the theory of matter according to Jain school of Indian philosophy.

Key Words: Jain Philosophy, Matter, *Paramāṇu, Pudgala, Dravya, Guṇa, Skandha, Astikāya,* Fusion, Fission

There are two concepts of *sat* in Jain philosophy-

1. Reality (*sat*) coupled with *utpāda* (origination), *vyaya* (destruction) and *dhrauvya* (permanence).
2. *Dravya* (substance) means reality characterized by *sat* (existence) endowed with *guṇa* (quality) and *paryāya* (mode).[2]

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 193, Vol. 72, 2023, pp. 93-112.

* A 137, Taksh Divine, Besides Nijanad Ashram, Adjoining L & T Knowledge City, Vadodara, Gujarat-390019. Mob. Email: vision123.sapna@gmail.com

[1] क. सद् द्रव्यलक्षणम् ॥- तत्त्वार्थसूत्र ५/२१

ख. दव्वाणि गुणा तेंसि पज्ज़ाया अट्ठसण्णया भणिया ।
तेसु गुणपज्जयाणं अप्पा दव्व त्ति उवदेसो ॥- प्रवचनसार, ८७

[2] क. उत्पादव्ययध्रौव्ययुक्तं सत् ॥- तत्त्वार्थसूत्र ५/३३

However, the difference is only in nomenclature but in essence these two statements are not different. It means that the origination and destruction point to the dynamic state (*paryāya*) of reality whereas permanence refers to the static state (*guṇa*). Both conditions are essential for the nature of *sat*. If any one of these aspects is accepted, then the object would appear either as eternal or non-eternal. It is worth mentioning here that in other Indian philosophical systems concepts of *sat* is based upon *ekāntavāda* whereas in Jain system reals are perceived differently from different points of view and that no single point of view is the absolute truth because there are infinite objects in the physical world and each object has infinite qualities. This is the metaphysical principle of Jain theory known as *anekāntavāda*. This principle is the key concept of Jain philosophy.

Six Fundamental Realities

Jain philosophy accepts the existence of six ultimate realities as under:

1. *Dharmāstikāya*-Medium of Motion.
2. *Adharmāstikāya*-Medium of Rest.
3. *Ākāśāstikāya*-Space.
4. *Jīvāstikāya*-Psychical Existence (Soul).
5. *Padgalāstikāya*-Physical Existence (Matter and Energy).
6. *Kāla*-Time.[3]

The first five substances are called *astikāya*. The term *astikāya* is a compound word made up of *asti* and *kāya,* which respectively mean 'existence' and 'extensive' body. Each of them is a homogeneous continuum composed of multiple parts. *Kāla* (i.e., time) is also included in the above list as the sixth substance, but it is not an *astikāya*. It has neither extension in space nor plurality of parts and is, therefore, not an *astikāya*.

ख. गुणपर्यायवद् द्रव्यम् ॥- वहीं, ५/३८

ग. दव्वं सल्लक्खणयं वा जं तं भण्णंति सव्वण्हू ॥- पञ्चत्थिकायसंगहो, १०

[3] जीवा पोग्गलकाया धम्मा पुणो य आगासं ।
सपदेसेहिं असंखा णत्थि पदेस त्ति कालस्स ॥- प्रवचनसार, १४५

***Pudgalāstikāya*:** According to Jain philosophy physical substance is called *pudgala*, the etymological meaning of the word '*pudgala*' is that it has property of integration and disintegration. '*Pud*' means 'to unite', and 'gala' means 'to divide'. In the words of the modern science 'what is fissionable and fusionable is *pudgala*'.[4]

1. Substantially *pudgala* is infinite in number.
2. Spatially *pudgala* fills the whole active universe (*lokākāśa*).[5]
3. Temporally *pudgala* is eternall i.e., without beginning and without end.
4. Qualitatively *pudgala* possesses colour, taste, odour and touch.
5. Interaction wise *pudgala* is capable of being absorbed and assimilated by *jīva* (psychic order of existence).

Characteristic Qualities: Characteristic qualities (*lakṣaṇa)* are those which distinguish it from other substances and are found in all modifications of *pudgala*. *Pudgala* is characterized by four qualities-colour, taste, odour and touch.[6] Possession of these qualities makes *pudgala* perceivable by sense-organs.[7] Out of the five *astikāya*-s, which constitute the universe, *pudgala* is the only one which possesses the quality of *mūrtatva*, which is perceivable by the sense organs. *Pudgala* possesses five types of primary colour-black, blue, red, yellow and white, five types of taste- sweet, bitter, acrid, acidic (sour) and astringent, two types of odour- pleasant and unpleasant and eight types of touch-hot, cold; gluey (sticky), dry; hard, soft; light and heavy.[8] It is devoid of consciousness, eternal in its nature and constant in quantity i.e.,neither increasing nor decreasing. It is a fundamental constituent of the universe

---

[4] "The *pudgala (*matter) is made by the smallest particle and has a stable entity, known as *aṇu* and *'paramāṇu'*. Both the words mean only atom' unlike modern knowledge in physical science where '*aṇu'* means molecule and *'paramāṇu'* means atom." - Ashoka K. Mishra, "Atomism of *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* vs Jainism-A Scientific Appraisal", *IJHS*, 41.3 (2006), 247

[5] ओगाढगाढणिचिदो पोग्गलकाएहिं सव्वदो लोगो ।
सुह्मेहिं बादरेहिं य णंताणंतेहिं विविहेहिं ॥- पंचत्थिकायसंगहो, ७०

[6] स्पर्शरसगन्धवर्णवन्तः पुद्गलाः ॥ तत्त्वार्थसूत्र, ५/२३

[7] रूपिणः पुद्गलाः ॥ वही, ५/५

Other important attributes (modes): Sound, light and darkness; integration and disintegration; microscopicness and macroscopicness & shape or configuration are some important modes of the *pudgala*.[9]

General properties of *pudagala* (matter):

1. *Pudgala*(matter) is,
    - a) An *astikāya*
    - b) A real
    - c) A substance
    - d) Eternal/Indestructible[10]
    - e) *Avasthita/Dhruva* (non-transmutable)
2. *Pudgala* is the physical order of existence, not psychical.
3. *Pudgala* possesses qualities of colour, taste, smell and touch.[11]
    - b) *Pudgala* is sensible / perceivable.

---

8. स्पृश्यते स्पर्शनमात्रं वा स्पर्शः । सोऽष्टविधःङ्ग मृदुकठिनगुरुलघुशीतोष्णस्निग्धरूक्षभेदात् । रस्यते रसनमात्रं वा रसः । स पञ्चविधःङ्ग तिक्ताम्लकटुकमधुरकषायभेदात् । गन्ध्यते गन्धनमात्रं वा गन्धः । स द्वेधाः सुरभिरसुरभिरिति । वर्ण्यते वर्णनमात्रं वा वर्णः । स पञ्चविधःङ्ग कृष्णनीलपीतशुक्ललोहितभेदात् । त एते मूलभेदाः । एते मूलभेदाः प्रत्येकं संख्येयासंख्येयानन्तभेदाश्च भवन्ति ।- सर्वार्थसिद्धि ५/२३/५७०

9. शब्दबन्धसौक्ष्म्यस्थौल्यसंस्थानभेदतमश्छायातपोद्योतवन्तश्च ॥- तत्त्वार्थसूत्र, ५/२४

10. नित्यावस्थितान्यरूपाणि ॥- वही, ५/४

11. क. वण्णरसगंधफासा विज्जंते पुग्गलस्स सुहुमादो ।
पुढवीपरियंतस्य य सद्दो सो पोग्गलो चित्तो ।- प्रवचनसार, १४२
ख. जीवस्य नास्ति वर्णो नापि गन्धो नापि रसो नापि च स्पर्शः ।
नापि रूपं न शरीरं नापि संस्थानं न संहननम् ॥- समयसार, ५०
ग. नैव च जीवस्थानानि न गुणस्थानानि वा संति जीवस्य ।
त्वेते सर्वे पुद्गलद्रव्यस्य परिणामाः ॥- वही, ५५

4. a) *Pudgala* is *kriyāvāna* (i.e.,incessantly active).

   b) *Pudgala* is *Pariṇāmī* (i.e.,subject to mutation).

5. *Pudgala* is fusionable and fissionable.

6. a) *Pudgala* is numerically infinite.

   b) Spatially it fills the entire universe.

7. *Pudgala* interacts with and influences psychic order of existence, i.e., *jīva* or consciousness.

Types of *Pudgala* (matter):

1. **Mono or single type-** The atomic structure of physical substance means that a '*Paramāṇu*' is the ultimate unit of the entire physical reality. *Paramāṇu* is the indestructible physical reality and in this respect, there is only one or single class of *pudgala*.

2. **Two types**– Any modification in this world would be due to fission or fusion of *Paramāṇu*. In this respect, therefore, the physical reality can be classified into two types:

   1. *Paramāṇu* or freely existing ultimate atom.

   2. *Skandha* or composite aggregate consisted of two to infinite number of atoms.[12]

   Composite aggregates (*skandha*-s) are again of two types:

   1. *Catuḥsparśī*

   2. *Aṣṭasparśī*[13]

   From different point of view *pudgala* can be classified into two types:

   1. *Sūkṣma*

   2. *Bādara*[14]

---

[12] अणवः स्कन्धाश्च ॥- तत्त्वार्थसूत्र, ५/२५

[13] भगवतीसूत्र, १८/६/११२-११७

3. **Three types-** The *pudgala* can be classified into three types in respect of the cause of transformation-

   1. *Prayoga-pariṇata* (transformed by consciousness): The *pudgala* which is taken in and transformed by *jīva* is *pudgala-jīva-prayoga-pariṇata.*

   2. *Miśra-pariṇata* (transformed by consciousness in past and it self at present): Shoe-leather is an instance of this class. Transformation which is partly under the influence of *jīva* and partly auto-transformation, also *miśra-pariṇata*.

   3. *Visrasā-pariṇata* (Auto-transformed): Matter which undergoes auto-transformation i.e., which has no interaction with *jīva* is *visrasā-pariṇata.* Clouds, rainbow, meteors, etc. are instances of this class.

4. **Four types-** From structural point of view, physical reality can be classified into four types-

   1. *Skandha* (aggregate): *Skandha* is defined as an aggregate consisted of amalgamation of ultimate or small composite bodies. The smallest *skandha* is *'dvipradeśiya skandhas'* and the largest is *'accitta mahāskandha'*.

   2. *Skandha-deśa* (conceptual part of an aggregate): A *skandha* is detachable, since it is constituted by number of parts. Any fractional portion of a *skandha* is called *skandha-deśa*.

---

14. "It should be noted that *sūkṣma* type is not devoid of sense-data, but it is so miniscule that normal sense-organs are in capable of being stimulated by them. Since sense-organs are in capable of perceiving *paramāṇu,* all *paramāṇus* fall in this class, viz. *sūkṣma*. Again, all aggregates composed of two, five,…ten upto innumerable (*asaṁkhyata) paramāṇus* are also *sūkṣma*. i.e. catuḥsparśī bodies are also always *sūkṣma*. Aggregates composed of infinite particles and which are *aṣṭasparśī* are *bādara* as well as *sūkṣma*. Only some *aṣṭasparśī* aggregates are perceivable and are therefore *bādara*." - Microcosmology : Atom in Jain Philosophy & Modern Science, p. 112

    3. *Skandha-pradeśa* (conceptual unit of an aggregate): An indivisible inseparable part of *skandha* is called *pradeśa.*[15]

    4. *Paramāṇu* (atom): The word is coined by two words '*parama*' and '*aṇu*'. '*Parama*' means the 'ultimate' and '*aṇu*' means 'atom'. It is indivisible, indestructible and the ultimate cause of the entire physical universe.[16]

5. **Six types-** From the point of view of penetrability *pudgala* is divided into six classes[17]–

    1. ***Bādara-bādara*** means gross-gross, i.e., very gross. This kind consists of very large solid aggregates of *pudgala* such as mountains, rocks, wood, etc.

    2. ***Bādara*** means gross. This kind consists of large aggregates of *pudgala* in liquid- form such as water, oil, milk, juice, etc.

    3. ***Bādara-sūkṣma*** means gross-subtle. This kind consists of aggregates which can either be neither cut nor broken, nor can be, physically transported, but are visible, such as light, shadow, image, etc.

    4. ***Sūkṣma-bādara*** means subtle-gross. This kind consists of aggregates which are not visible, but can be perceived by other four senses-ultra visible, but infra-sensual, e.g., gases.

    5. ***Sūkṣma*** means subtle. This kind consists of aggregates which are ultra-sensual, i.e.,they are not perceivable by any sense-organ. However, they interact with *jīva* and are transformed by it in the form of thought, speech, *karma*, etc.

---

[15] "Another term used for pradeśa is *avibhāgi pariccheda* (i.e. indivisible fragment)" - Microcosmology : Atom in Jain Philosophy & Modern Science, p. 114

[16] खंधा य खंधदेसा खंधपदेसा य होंति परमाणू ।
इदि ते चदुव्वियप्प पोग्गलकाया मुणेदव्वा ॥- पंचत्थिकायसंगहो, ८०

[17] क. गोम्मटसार, जीवकाण्ड, ६०२

ख. नियमसार, २२-२४

6. ***Sukṣma-sukṣma*** means extra-subtle. This kind consists of aggregates which are so subtle that they do not interact with *jīva*. They include the aggregates which are composed of less than infinite number of ultimate atoms upto two atoms.

6. **Five and or Eight types-** The most important types of physical existence (*pudgala*) are those which interact with psychic order of existence (*jīva*) and are, there fore, mostly encountered by us. There are five types of *pudgala* which are associated with *jīva* in the form of 'body'.

   1. *Audārika Vargaṇā*[18] (a class of gross matter): All physical entities which are perceivable by sense-organs include in this category. Organic material, vegetable kingdom, dead organism, inorganic atoms, molecules, compounds etc. instances of this class.

   2. *Vaikriya Vargaṇā* (a class of protean matter): The word *vaikriya* means a protean body, i.e. 'what is capable of transformation of the body at will'. Celestial bodies are examples of this category.

   3. *Āhāraka Vargaṇā* (a class of matter related to the communication body): The learned sages use this type of body for visiting omniscient persons at far-away places, for clarifying doubts about intricate facets of truth.

   4. *Taijas Vargaṇā* (a class of matter related to luminous body): The material belonging to this group is used by the soul to make a subtle body which always accompanies the soul in its mundane existence i.e. until it achieves libration.

   5. *Kārmaṇa or Karma-Vargaṇā* (a class of *karmic* matter): *Kārmic* matter is responsible for contaminating the soul and keeping it in bondage until it is finally emancipated.

---

[18] "The word *audārika* can etymologically be explained in two ways : 1.) *udarana* meaning gross, *audārika* means 'constituted by gross matter' and 2.) *udara* meaning womb, *audārika* thus means 'what is produced from the womb'. All organic bodies- human, animal and vegetable are *audārika*."- Scientific vision of Lord Mahāvīra, p. 99

Out of the mentioned five bodies, the first one is perceptible, and the others are subtle and imperceptible. Each succeeding one is minuter than the preceding one in order.[19]

In addition, there are three types which are associated with the *jīva* to perform the vital function of life, viz. breathing, speaking, and thinking.

6. *Śvāsocchvāsa or Ānāpāna Vargaṇā* (a class of matter belonging to respiration)

7. *Bhāṣā Vargaṇā* (a class of matter belonging to sound)

8. *Manaḥ or Mānasa Vargaṇā*: (a class of matter)

7. **Twenty-three types-** Beginning from most minute *paramāṇu vargaṇā* and ending with the largest *achittamahāskandha-vargaṇā*, there are infinite numbers of groups of *pudgala*. But it is possible to reduce the number of *vargaṇā*s to twenty-three by grouping them together from certain aspects.[20]

    1. In the first category, there are free (un attached) solitary *paramāṇus*, which form. *"aṇuvargaṇā"*.

    2. The second category contains composite bodies (*skandha*) composed of from two *paramāṇus* to the limit of "numerable *paramāṇus*".

    3. The third category of composite bodies made up of "innumerable (*asaṁkhyāta*) *paramāṇus*"

    4. The fourth category of the composite bodies constituted by "infinite(*ananta*) *paramāṇus*".

    All these four categories are incapable of being attracted, assimilated, and transformed by the psychical order of existence.

    5. The fifth category *āhāra-vargaṇā* stands for the category of *pudgala* endowed with associability. In this category fall the groups of *audārika, vaikriya, āhāraka* and *śvasocchvāsa*. *Āhāra* literally means association.

---

[19] औदारिकवैक्रियिकाहारकतैजसकार्मणानि शरीराणि ॥- तत्त्वार्थसूत्र, ३६
परस्परं सूक्ष्मम् ॥-वही, ३७

[20] गोम्मटसार जीवकाण्ड, ५९३-५९५

6. *Prathama agrāhya* (i.e. first unassociable category).

7. *Taijas* (Luminous).

8. Second unassociable category.

9. *Bhāṣā* (Matter essential for function of speech).

10. Third unassociable category.

11. *Manas* (Matter essential for the function of thinking).

12. Fourth unassociable category.

13. *Kārmaṇa* (Matter responsible for containing souls). This is the most subtle category of *pudgala* which has any practical significance.

14. -22. These categories are of little practical significance and are merely of academic interest.

23. The twenty- third category is *mahāskandha,* i.e., the largest aggregate which pervades the entire cosmic space.

PARAMĀṆU: THE HIGHEST INDIVISIBLE ENTITY

Definition: Its full name is *paramāṇu pudgala* or *dravya paramāṇu*, but is generally called *paramāṇu*. Etymologically, the word *paramāṇu* is coined by two terms *parama* and *aṇu*. The extreme limiting unit of the process of division of any material object is *aṇu*. Such ultimate *aṇu* is *paramāṇu*.[21] *Paramāṇu* is a true point. It has no half-portion, no middle portion and no *pradeśa*.[22] It has no length, no breadth, and no depth. It is dimensionless. It is the ultimate and eternal unit.

---

[21] क. सव्वेसिं खंधाणं जो अंतो तं वियाण परमाणू ।
सो सस्सदो असद्दो एक्को अविभागी मुत्तिभवो ॥- पंचत्थिकायसंगहो, ८४

ख. अविभाज्य परमाणुः ॥-जैनसिद्धान्तदीपिका, १/१४

[22] भगवतीसूत्र, २०/६/३८

It is truly infinitesimal. Its beginning, the middle and the end are identical with the whole of itself.[23] It is not perceptible (cognized by sensual perception). It has a single taste, a single color, one smell and two kinds of sparśa, which is the cause of sound but is not sound itself, which is not the same as *skandhas* (composite) though constituting them, is the *paramāṇu.* From the points of view of *dravya, kṣetra, kāla* and *bhāva, paramāṇu* is defined as under:

1. Substantially there are infinite number of indivisible *paramāṇus*, each numerically different from one another.
2. Spatially a paramāṇu occupies a single space-point and can never extend to more than one.
3. Temporally *paramāṇu* existed in the infinite past, exists in the present and shall exist in the infinite future. It is eternal.
4. Qualitatively *paramāṇ* possesses colour, taste, smell and touch. These four are innate characteristics of *paramāṇu.*

Characteristic Qualities: *Paramāṇu* ,being a form of *pudgala*, therefore, must possess colour, smell, taste and touch qualities. Sound, being a mode of *skandhas*, is not the characteristic quality of *paramāṇu*. *Paramāṇu* possesses one of the five primary colours, one of the two smells, one of the five tastes and two of the four touches, i.e., either hot or cold and either dry or gluey[24]. It can be perceived by only by its effects, i.e., a single free *paramāṇu* is invisible not only to single eyes but also to any other physical instrument. Only the omniscient (*kevala jñānī*) and those who possess superlative visual intuition (*paramāvadi jñānī*) can perceive and cognise the nature of a free *paramāṇu*[25].

---

[23] अत्तादि अत्तमज्झं अत्तत्तं णेव इंदिये गेज्झं ।
जं दव्वं अविभागी तं परमाणुं विआणाहि ॥- नियमसार, २६

[24] एगरसवण्णगंध दो फासं सद्दकारणमसदं ।
खंधंतरिदं दव्वं परमाणुं तं वियाणीहि ॥- पंचत्थिकायसंगहो, ८८

[25] भगवतीसूत्र, १८/८/१७८-१८१

General properties of *Paramāṇu*:

1. *Paramāṇu* is

    a) A substance,

    b) A real, by itself it is not *kāya* (extensive body), because being a single point, it is singularity.[26]

    c) Eternal/indestructible,

    d) *Avasthita/Dhruva* (non-transmutable).

    e) *Akāraṇa* i.e. the cause of the creation of the physical universe.

    f) *Antya* i.e. the ultimate end product of the physical universe.

    g) *Sūkṣma* i.e. infinitesimally subtle.

    h) *Agurulaghu* i.e., it is neither heavy nor light.

2. *Paramāṇu* belongs to the physical order of existence, not psychical, because it is devoid of consciousness.

3. *Paramāṇu* is *rūpī,* because it possesses four primary sensuous qualities colour, taste, smell and touch, but it is devoid of *saṁsthāna* because it has no shape and has no length, breadth or thickness.

4. a) *Paramāṇu* is capable of being dynamically active (*kriyāvān*). It may have vibratory as well as migratory motions. The activity of a *paramāṇu* is not continuous but rather in the form of quantas. When dynamic, it can assume a very high velocity, since it is completely mass less, there is no upper limit to its speed, and it can travel from one end of the *loka* to the other within one time-point (*samaya*)[27]. It cannot, however, cross the boundary of *loka* (since there is no *dharmāstikāya* beyond it).

    b) *Paramāṇu* is *pariṇāmī* (i.e. subject to mutation). By itself, it is *agurulaghu pariṇāmī*. The mutation is in respect to its innate qualities viz., colour, smell,etc.

---

[26] नाणोः ॥- तत्त्वार्थसूत्र, ५/११

[27] भगवतीसूत्र १/१६

5. *Paramāṇu* is fusionable and not fissionable, because by itself it is indivisible. It unites with other *paramāṇus* to form composite bodies, and therefore, it is fusionable. Fissionability is an attribute of composite bodies only.

6. a) *Paramāṇu* is numerically infinite.

   b) Spatially it fills the entire universe.

7. A single *paramāṇu* cannot be attracted by *jīva*, and therefore, it does not interact with *jīva*.

Types of *Paramāṇu*:

a) TwoTypes:

In *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra*, two types of *paramāṇu* are described-[28]

1. ***Sūkṣma* (transcendental/absolute):** The *sūkṣma* (transcendental) *paramāṇu* is a truly indivisible fundamental unit of *pudgala* and therefore has no components. It is not composed of any particles and is dimensionless. Like a true geometrical point, it has no length, no breadth and no thickness. Its centre is identical with its ends. Thus, it has no extension and occupies only a single space-point. It has no shape and it has no mass.

2. ***Vyāvahārika* (empirical):** *Vyāvahārika paramāṇu* is composed of infinite *sūkṣma paramāṇus*. Even it is a composite body; it is too subtle to be cognized singly. It can be cognized through effects of collective action. Its interactions and mutations are very subtle and so it is called *paramāṇu*. A sub-atomic particle or an atom of modern physics can compare with this *Vyāvahārika paramāṇu*.

b) Four Types :

The *Bhagavatī Sūtra* counts four types of *paramāṇus*[29]-

---

[29] परमाणु दुविहा पण्णते तंजहा सुहुमपरमाणुपोग्गलनुं समुदय समितिसमागमेणं ववहारिए परमाणु पोग्गले निप्फज्जन्ति ॥- अनुयोगद्वारसूत्र, पृ. २८०-२८१

[29] भगवतीसूत्र, २०/६/३७-४१

1. ***Dravya paramāṇu or pudgala paramāṇu-*** The indivisible unit of *pudgala* substance.
2. ***Kṣetra paramāṇu-*** The indivisible unit of space i.e. space-point or *ākāśa-pradeśa*.
3. ***Kāla paramāṇu-*** The indivisible unit of time or time-point called *samaya*.
4. ***Bhāva paramāṇu-*** The indivisible unit or quantum of intensity of sensuous qualities, viz., colours, odour, taste and touch.

Motion of *Paramāṇu*:

Paramāṇu has a capability to become dynamically active. But all *paramāṇus* are not active everywhere and at all times under all conditions. There is uncertainty in the origination and cessation of the dynamic activity of *paramāṇu*. A *paramāṇu* can remain at rest on a single space-point for some time. The dynamic activity of *paramāṇu* is not continuous. There are alternate period of rest and motion. Various kinds of dynamic actions of *paramāṇu* are described in *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, such as *eyati, veyati*, etc.[30] Some of these terms indicate simple vibratory motion, whereas some others denote simple migratory motion. On the other hand, others indicate complex mixture of vibration, oscillation, emission, absorption, spin and wave-propagation in space. Besides these, there are many other kinds of motion also. Muni Mahendra Kumar has tried to explain them.[31]

Certain rules about the motion of *paramāṇū*: In some respect motion of *paramāṇu* follow definite rules-

1. If there is no external effect, then the motion of *paramāṇu* always be in straight line *(anushreṇī)*.[32]
2. If there is external effect, then the difference may be occur in the direction and speed of *paramāṇu*.[33]

---

[30] भगवतीसूत्र, ५/७/१५०

[31] Microcosmology : Atom in Jain Philosophy & Modern Science, p. 197

[32] अनुश्रेणी गतिः ॥- तत्त्वार्थसूत्र, २/२६

[33] परमाणुपोग्गलाणं भंते; किं अणुसेढिं गती पवत्तती ? विसेढिंगती पव्वत्तती ? ॥- भगवतीसूत्र, २५/३/९२

3. *Jīva* does not affect the motion of *paramāṇu.*

4. Minimum distance which is travelled by a *paramāṇu* in one *samaya* is equal to the space between two adjoining points of *ākāśa* and the maximum distance is equal to the entire length of the *loka.*

5. Maximum period of inactivity is innumerable (*asaṃkhyāta*) *samaya,* after which it must move. On the other hand, maximum period of activity is innumerableth portion (*asaṃkhyātāṃśa*) of a *āvalikā.*[34] Minimum period of activity and inactivity is one *samaya.*

Uncertainty of *paramāṇu's* motion:

On the other hand, there are some rules related to the uncertainty of *paramāṇu*-

1. It is uncertain, when will a static *paramāṇu* will become active or release energy. This time period may be from one *samaya* upto innumerable *samayas.* How ever after in numerable *samayas,* it will be come active for sure.

2. It is uncertain, upto what period of time will a dynamic *paramāṇu* continue to be active. It could be from one *samaya* to an *asaṁkhyātāṁśa* (innumerableth) portion of a *āvalikā.* But it will be active definitely after this maximum period.

3. It is uncertain that in which direction will a *paramāṇu* initiates its movement. It can move in any possible direction.

4. It is uncertain, what type of activity will be started by an inactive *paramāṇu.* It may just vibrate or rotate or migrate or do all things simultaneously.

---

[34] "*Samaya* and *loka* are two terms unique to the Jain Philosophy. *Samaya* is the indivisible quantum of time. A comparatively larger and more practical unit of time which is measurable is called *āvalikā* and is equal to 1.7x10-4seconds. One *āvalikā* covers *''Jaghanya-Yukta-Asamkhyāta''* *samayas.* This number is impossible to be expressed in numerical figures, but it can be shown to have definite measurable value and its lower limit can be calculated. Jain mathematics expresses this number as greater than x where"- Viśva Prahelikā, pp. 255-270 (as quoted in Microcosmology : Atom in Jain Philosophy & Modern Science, p. 199)

5. It is also uncertain, what will be the velocity of a *paramāṇus* dynamic activity. What will be its velocity- minimum or intermediate or maximum?

Constrained *(pratighātī)* and Non-constrained *(apratighātī)* Motion of *Paramāṇu*:

1. *Paramāṇus* motion is generally *apratighātī,* that is, the motion and activity of *paramāṇu* cannot be stopped or restrained by another material body or *jīva.* A *paramāṇu* in motion is capable of penetrating and passing through any type of obstacle in its way.
2. A *paramāṇu* can occupy a space-point which is already occupied by others (*paramāṇu or jīva*) without losing its free state.
3. A *paramāṇu* can initiate and continue its own motion and activities irrespective of the other occupants of the same space.
4. A *paramāṇu* can leave the occupied space without any restraint from the other occupants.

Paramāṇu possesses the quality of *apratighātitva* but under the following conditions *paramāṇu* is subject to *pratighāta-*

1. *Upkārābhāva pratighāta* (restriction due to the non-appearance of media): It cannot penetrate the limits of *loka* and cross over to *aloka.* Since *dharmāstikāya* (the medium of motion) doesn"t not present in *aloka* and without the support of *dharmāstikāya* nothing can move and so when the atom reaches to the limit of *loka* is stopped and may be thrown back.
2. *Bandhana-pariṇāma-pratighāta* (restriction due to association): When an atom is combines with other *paramāṇus* it loses its unbound state and the capacity for self- governing activity for the time being.
3. *Ativega-pratighāta* (restriction due to high velocity): Collision between two self- activated atoms moving at a high velocity may cause restriction in the motion of both.

Super-Luminal Speed of *Paramāṇu*: "In modern science, some particles such as photon, muons etc. are postulated as 'massless'. But, according to Muni Mahendra

Kumar and J.S. Zaveri, the word ''massless'' probably doesn't mean that they are actually possessing no mass. In their opinion„ 'A massless particle' is an awkward translation from Mathematics to English."[35] The basic inference of relativity theory establishes that nothing can travel faster than light. But relativity theory itself allows the hypothetical existence of particles called tachyons[36] which came into existence, already travelling faster than light. In the formalization of the special theory of relativity, tachyons have an 'imaginary rest mass' means in physical terms, or what the interaction forces could be between tachyons and the ordinary particles of real rest mass.[37] "There is a fundamental difference between the particles such as tachyons and *paramāṇus* .While tachyons transfer energy and momentum through space, in case of *paramāṇu* there is no transport of momentum at all but pure energy only. Since momentum is a function of mass, there is no question of transport of momentum in the case of *paramāṇu*."[38]

Motion Without Passing Through Space (*Aphusamāṇa Gati*): Quantum physics has discarded the planetary model of the atom in which negatively charged electrons revolved round the positively charged nucleus. It has been established that electrons settle in orbits in such away that there is an optimal balance between the attraction of nucleus. However, the atomic orbits and the planets in the solar systems are very different. The difference is arising from the

---

35. Scientific Vision of Lord Mahāvīra, p.121
36. "There are particles, which at rest, would have no mass at all, a rest mass of zero……light is made up of ''photons'' -particles that have a proper mass of zero. Other particles such as ''neutrinos'' and ''gravitons'' also have a proper mass of zero. Particles with zero mass mean that their inertia is zero and they can be accelerated to any velocity upto infinite. In 1967, physicist Gerald Feinberg, in discussing these faster-than- light particles called them ''tachyons'', from a Greek word meaning speed"- Isaac Asimov, ''SPAN'' magazine, 16th July 1973 (as Quoted in Microcosmology : Atom in Jain Philosophy & Modern Science, p. 201)
37. Scientific Vision of Lord Mahāvīra, p. 121
38. Ibid

wave-nature of the electrons.[39] Bohr discovered that whenever an atom absorbs energy, its electron jump to one of the outer shells. They return to the inner shells by emitting the energy absorbed earlier and normally stay as close to the nucleus as they can.[40] This is explained by the quantum mechanics with reference to „position-momentum" of the sub-atomic particles. This kind of motion is also described in the Jain Physics by the term “*aphusamāṇa gatī*” which means motion from one area of space to another without passing through the intervening space.

Atomic Integration and Disintegration: The very name “*pudgala*” is derived from its virtue of being fusionable and fissionable. The process of fusion is called *bandha* that is integration and the process of fission is called *bheda* that is disintegration. Entire physical universe is a result of fusionable and fissionable properties of *pudgala*.

Fusion process: The number of atom combining together in a fusion process may range from two to infinite. The objects formed by fusion of atoms are called *skandhas* that is aggregates or composite bodies. Two or more aggregates may also unite to form one larger object. Sometimes only a few atoms may unite with an aggregate.

Process of fusion of atoms and production of aggregates follow some definite rules which have been mentioned in the Jain scriptures like *Tattvārthasūtra, Bhagavatī Sūtra, Gommaṭasāra* etc. Out of four innate qualities, touch is the only one that is responsible for the process of fusion. Since *snigdhatva* and *rūkṣatva* are the modes of touch quality which cause the atomic integration.[41] Though different views are found in Jain philosophy regarding the problem of atomic combination, but one thing is unanimously accepted is that there cannot be integration of atoms that possess only one degree of viscosity or dryness.[42] According to *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, Synthesis of *paramāṇus* having two or more units of dryness is possible with other dry *paramāṇus* provided there is a difference of two or more units between them. Similarly mutual synthesis of gluey *paramāṇus* is possible only if the difference of their intensities is two or more units.[43]

---

[39] “Due to dual nature of the electrons, they can no longer be compared to „planets“ in the solar system. In stead they produce what is called „electron clouds“ which are made up of a various standing waves which surround the nucleus”- Microcosmology : Atom in Jain Philosophy & Modern Science, p. 26

[40] Ibid, p. 20

[41] स्निगधरूक्षत्वाद्बन्धः ॥- तत्त्वार्थसूत्र, ५/३३

Fission Process: In the process of fission, the aggregates of atoms breakup to form various other combinations. These newly formed combination may be smaller or bigger aggregates (*skandhas*) relatively to one another. Sometimes even a single atom *(aṇu)* may form a complete whole.[44]

Conclusion: The Jain doctrine of *pudgala* undoubtedly much more ancient. The Jain thinkers have made impressive contribution towards the development of philosophical outlook and have contributed to the field of physics through the concept of *pudgala* (matter) and *paramāṇu* (atom). The meaning inherent in the word *''pudgala''* indicates the deep insight of the Jain philosophers into the structure and characteristics of the physical existence. Instances of fusion and fission of *pudgala* are foundin day today life. In this way the Jain theory of matter (*pudgala*) reveals the profoundness of knowledge of its innovators.

(Bibliography)

1. *Tattvārtha sūtra*; Umāswāti, 1976 Sukhlalji Sanghavi(Ed.), Pub. Parshvanath Vidyashram Shodh Sansthan, Varanasi.
2. *Sarvārthasiddhi*; 2009 Phoolchandra Shastri (Ed. &Trans.), Bharatiya Jnanpith, New Delhi.
3. *Tattvārtha-Vārtika (Rājavārtika)* [part1&2]; Akalaṅkadeva, 2009 Bharatiya Jnanpith, New Delhi.

---

[42] न जघन्यगुणानाम् ॥- वही, ५/३४

[43] क. द्व्यधिकादिगुणानां तु ॥-वही, ५/३६
ख. गुणासाम्ये सदृशानाम् ॥-वही, ५/३५

[44] क. भेदसङ्घातेभ्यः उत्पद्यन्ते ॥-वही, ५/२६
ख. भेदादणुः ॥-वही, ५/२७

4. *Pravacanasāra*; Kundakunda, 1969 Pub. By Shree Paramashrut Prabhavak Mandal, Bombay.

5. *Samayasāra*; Kundakunda, 1919 Pub. Shree Paramashrut Prabhavak Mandal, Bombay.

6. Niyamasara; Shri kundkundacharya, Hindi Trans. Late Pand. Parmeshthidas Nyayatirth, Shri kundkund kahan Digambar Jain Tirth Surksha Trust, Jaipur, Rajsathan, 302015.

7. *Pañcāstikāyasaṁgraha*; Kundakunda, 2004 Ed. By Mannulal Jain, Bharatiya Jnanpith.

8. Samani Chaitanya Pragya, 2005 *Scientific Vision of Lord Mahāvīra*; Jain Vishva Bharti Publication, Ladnun, Edition : First.

7. *Gommaāasāra*; Nemicandra, 1978 Adinath Neminath Upadhye & Kailash chandra Shastri, Bharatiya Jnanpith, New Delhi.

8. Jainsiddhantadeepika; Aacharya Shri Tulsi, 1970 Trans. Muni Shri Nathmalaji, Aadarsha Sahitya Samgha Sardar Shahar, Rajasthan.

9. Anuyogadvara Sutra, Edit. Nemichanda Banthiya, Parasamala Chandaliya, Shri Akhila Bharatiya Sudharma Jain Samskriti Rakshaka Samgha, Jodhpur, Rajasthan.

10. Muni Shri, Mahendra Kumar, Vishavaprahelika, Zaveri Prakashan, Bombay, 1939 (available in Jain Vishva Bharati, Ladnun, 341306 Rajasthan).

11. *Bhagavatī Sūtra, Aṅgasuttāṇī* (Vol.2); 1981 & 1986 Acharya Sri Tulsi (Vachana Pramukh), Yuvacharya Mahapragya, Jain Vishva Bharati, Ladnun.

12. Zaveri, J. S., 1975, *Microcosmology: Atom in* Jain *Philosophy & Modern Science*; Agama & Sahitya Prakashan, Jain Vishva Bharati, Ladnun (Raj.).

13. Mishra , A. K., 2006, "Atomism of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika VS Jainism-A Scientific Appraisal", *Indian Journal of History of Science*, Delhi.

ANCIENT TRADE ROUTES: THE WAY TO GLOBALISATION IN ANTIQUITY

K. M. Chudasama*

Abstract: Ancient Trade Routes have been the veins of the economic life of a geographical region in antiquity. Long distance trade played a major role in the cultural, religious and artistic exchanges that took place between the major centres of civilizations in the ancient world. The trade linkages revealed that the overland trade routes and water ways connects the diverse land masses, linking the distant people and places around the world for various needs and purposes. The economic organization of the modern global world were created in the past process of commercial expansions, where the ancient trade routes have been the major mode of the initial commercial expansion, which led to the discovery of the new global world.

The paper reviews the ancient trade routes of the world. The ancient international highways being the accesses to the trade and commerce of a geographical region in antiquity, the overland trade routes and maritime trade routes connecting the diverse land masses, linking the distant masses and places initiated the globalization in ancient world enhancing the cultural, religious and artistic exchanges between the major centers of civilizations during the antiquity have been analyzed. The paper traces the existences of ancient international highways and ancient international sea routes giving way to globalization in antiquity across the world over time.

Key Words: Ancient Trade Routes, Ancient Highways, Ancient Sea Routes, Globalisation in Antiquity.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 193, Vol. 72, 2023, pp. 113-126.

* Department of Economics, Faculty of Arts, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara 390002, Gujarat, India. M: 9825854322, Email: krishnakumar.m.c-eco@msubaroda.ac.in

Introduction

Globalization is considered as if it is a new phenomenon, but the ancient trade that was going on at a scale and scope between the ancient civilizations was truly impressive. No matter how far into the human past we look, we have found evidences that our ancestors showed interest in distant lands for trade and commerce. As soon as the commodities began to change hands, both land and sea routes flourished as conduits (channel) of culture and commerce. Historians can only speculate about the first voyage, people made on land, rivers and seas. Trade with remote geographical zones played a vital role in the cultural, religious and artistic exchanges which persisted amongst the foremost centers of civilizations during the ancient times. Many of the trade routes had been used for years and are even in use today. (Veenstra and Haralambidies, 1997)

Trade Routes have been the veins of the economic life of a geographical region. From antiquity, they have determined the path of progress and broken the isolation of regional economy. Even in the Paleolithic Age (40,000 BC–10,000 BC), the tracks that later on developed into trade routes were means of socio-economic contacts between the various groups and their subgroups. With the spread of Neolithic culture (10,000 BC–5,000 BC), the number and the distribution of primitive tracks increased. In the Neolithic period, since people preferred to live in the river valley, besides the natural water routes, they found it convenient to follow the water routes and discovered tracks along the courses of rivers. The development of tracks mostly depends on the growth and location of industries. During the Proto-Historic Period (1,450 AD–1,650 AD), the conditions of tracks remained primitive and extension of tracks was mainly confined to the areas of respective cultures. Few communities however maintained occasional contacts with other communities. The seasonal migration opened various systems of primitive inter-community tracks connecting centers far and wide.

The dynamics of trade linkages revealed that the overland trade routes and water ways connected the diverse land masses, linking the distant people and places around the world (Chudasama, 2021). Over a period of time, the overland trade routes came under the control of various empires, which proved quite detrimental to the free flow of commerce and trade. The traders from distant land had to pay tolls to many small kingdoms, and consequently it became a costly affair. The foreign trade became more or less a sea borne trade, oceans served as natural highways for exchange and commercial activities later on (Prasad 1977).

Ancient International Highways[1]

The Ambassador Road[2]

Ambassador Road is a series of linked roads that crisscross over the main land of China to the East coast and all the way to Burma. Around 200 BC, Yellow Emperor Huang – Ti realized that having a large empire without communication network would be challenging, as his orders would not reach the edge of the empire for a long time. Hence the road was constructed for messengers to travel as quickly as possible. The Ambassador Road fetched merchants of several ethnicities to China for trading commodities like cotton, spices, silk, rice etc. This overland route stretched from Korea, Beijing to Vietnam and Burma, passing through various small and big trade centers, where markets developed for foreign goods.

The Silk Road[3]

Silk Road was given its name as silk was the main commodity of China being traded through it. Along the Silk Road, Chinese established trade with Persia (Iran) around 115 BC–105 BC. This road mainly connected Romans firstly with Middle East and then to India and China. The road that joined such opposite civilizations, started on the western side, with the conquering of the areas near Talimakan Desert by Alexander in 330 BC. Silk Road was about 4000 miles long that lasted up to 1500 AD. This route passed through Pamir, Hindukush and Karakoram Mountains crossing the trade centers like Antioch, Heraat, Kashgar, Khotan, Tun Hung and bifurcating Kiao Chow and Canton, via Changan. The imperial states of Roman and Chinese, who were economic powers, provided security to the traders and merchants that traveled on Silk Route. The Chinese exchanged the silk, for exotic objects like fur, horses, wool carpets, spices, pearls, crystals and fragrances, while the Romans supplied gold, cotton, grains, glass and slaves through the Silk route.

---

[1] Refer Appendix Map 1: Ancient International Highways

[2] Refer Appendix Map 2: The Ambassador Road

[3] Refer Appendix Map 3: The Silk Road

The Appian Way[4]

The Appian Way was formed by two routes. In 312 BC, the Roman Caesar Claudius began the construction of this road. The road connected Roman Empire with Middle East. Starting from the Golden Milestone in Rome and went to south towards Capua. During construction of this road, Romans experimented with different road building techniques. From Capua, the road ran forward to the port of Hydruntum (Otranto), after passing the trade center of Tarentum. From the port of Otranto the travelers could go to the port of Dyrrhachium. From this port city the Appian way passed by the Balkans Hills to Thessalonica. There were two roads which traders could take from Thessalonica, one passing from south to Macedonia and other from east coast, towards Constantinople (Istanbul). Istanbul joined the Roman Empire with the Middle East.

The Indo-Heraat / Persipolis-Susa Highway [5]

The road from Mohenjodaro and Harrapa in Indus Valley via Jukar met at Quetta, which was an international outpost on the highway. From Quetta, the road passed by Kandahar and proceeded to Heraat, crossing Helmand, Dilaram, Girishk and Ferah. Highway from Heraat, approached to Nishapur, which was an important destination through which, the traders could trade with nearby trade centers like Merv, Anau and Askabad. Hissar was the next destination after Nishapur. From Hissar, the sites like Shah Tepe and Turanga Tepe in South Caspian were easily approachable by a route that passed by Astrabad. From Hissar, the route ran forward for Cheshmehali near Tehran. Hamdan was commercial centers of Persian Empire near Tehran on this route, which later on passed through Qum and reached Susa. Susa was strategically located and controlled most of the traffic passing through the Persian Empire. The Indo-Persipolis-Susa Highway started

---

4. Refer Appendix Map 4: The Appian Way
5. Refer Appendix Map 5: The Indo-Heerat /Persipolis-Susa Highways

from Quetta and ran through Kandahar towards southern most regions. It crossed Helmand delta, Tel-I-Blis, Kirman, Persipolis and merged with Susa. This road was also called Indo-Persian Road, which was further connected to Babylon. A link road from Persipolis went to Bandar Bushir port via Siraj.

Indo-Phoenicia-Egypt Highway[6]

This road started from Indus basin Taxila and went to Bactria. Bactria occupied an important position as a center of transit trade between India, China and Middle East. From Bactria the road went towards Bamyan, Merve, Askabad, and it merged with Indo-Heraat-Susa Highway at Nishapur and proceeded to Rhagae further crossing Ecbatana (Hamdan). From here the road went to Ctesiphon, Babylon, Damascus and proceeded to various Phoenician cities like Palmyara, Antioch, Byblos, Sidon, Gaza, Tyre and Amu. Heliopolis was the next destination for entering the Egypt. From here, cities of Egypt like Alexandria, Memphis, Hassan, Karanak, Aswan, Thebes, etc. could be approached by navigating Nile.

The Eastern Indo-China Highway[7]

This highway passed through Assam, Upper Burma and Yunnan. Prior to 2nd Century BC, Chinese cotton was carried through this route (Sen, 1993). This road started from Patliputra (Patna) and passed through Campa (North Bengal) and proceeded to Kamrupa (Guahati). From Assam the route went to Brahmaputra Valley up to Patkoi Range and then it passes up to Upper Burma near Bhame. From here it went crossing the river valley to Yunnan-Fu (Kunming) in southern province of China. This was the shortest route to China from India.

The Indo-China via Bactria Highway[8]

There were several roads from Taxila, Merv and Heraat, which merged at Bactria. Bactria was at the entrance of China. The route from Bactria ran towards Kunduz and proceeding towards east, along the right course of the Oxus through the

---

[6] Refer Appendix Map 6: The Indo-Phoenicia-Egypt Highway

[7] Refer Appendix Map 7: The Eastern Indo-China Highway

[8] Refer Appendix Map 8: The Indo-China via Bactria Highway

Valley of Kokcha up to Faizabad. From Faizabad, through the difficult course of Abe-Punjab, the main route proceeded eastwards up to Tushkurghan (Tashkand). Tushkurghan was a convenient center of trade. From there the route ran to Kashgar through Chichiklik Pass and Yangi – Hissar, Hiuen Tsang, while coming to India took this route. Kashgar was an important station on this route. In 2nd Century AD, it was through trade contacts; this city was influenced by Buddhism. From Kashgar, two routes of equal importance went to interior China. One passes to the north of river Tarim and other to its south. The northern route passing through Kucha (Chiu-Tzu) reached Lonpor, while the southern route from Kashgar went to Yarkand, Khotan, Karghalik (Chi-Chu-Chia). This route ran crossing the centers like Niya, Dandanulik and Endre. After crossing Endre, the route went to Miran and later on joined the northern road, coming from Lopnor. This highway now proceeded to jade gate, bifurcating to various port and trade centers in China.

The Nabataean Trade Routes[9]

An Arab tribe that was engaged in trade, particularly from 1900 BC was known as Nabataeans. The Nabataean traders linked Arabia, Mesopotamia and Edom (Jordan). The Central Arabian Desert Route consisted of the cargo that moved from South Arabia (Yemen) through Arabian Peninsula to the land of Edom. From there the cargo was transported to north for Damascus or to west for Egypt. Whereas, the Eastern Arabian Desert Route comprised of the goods traveled from Southern Arabia (Oman) along eastern coast to Mesopotamia and all the way to Babylon, where it joints the route towards Mediterranean Sea through Phoenician trade centers.

During 600 BC-250 BC, Nabataeans traded on Mediterranean Sea from the port of Gaza and during 250 BC-100 BC; series of ports were built on the African coast as well as Phoenician coasts. Nabataean sea vessels transporting cargo from South Yemen also added Brenike port of Egypt to the route and goods were sent to Alexandria. During this period, Indian and Chinese goods arrived at Arabian ports and moved across land to Mediterranean ports. During 100 BC-85 BC, the

---

[9] Refer Appendix Map 9: The Nabataean Trade Routes

Nabataean Port City of Gaza appeared to be losing its significance as most of the Arabian and Asian trade was passing through Alexandria. Later on, Nabataeans gained control over Damascus in 85 BC. As Damascus was the main junction of various trade routes, it allowed Nabataeans to completely dominate the over land as well as sea routes. At this time Nabataeans built a world-class city Petra (Jordan) to handle the trade routes.

It is evident that the overland transit was extremely expensive, so traders in antiquity preferred shipping that was relatively cheaper and therefore, prominence of the sea routes emerged with the Silk Route (Sidebotham 1996). The Silk Road got lot of consideration as a trade route but, at the same time significant evidence indicated the regular sea trade between Egypt and India. The Roman texts provide support to the above logic, having mentioned that overland trade with India was twenty times more expensive than the maritime trade.

Ancient International Sea Routes[10]

Over a period of time, the overland trade routes came under the control of more than one empire, which proved quite disadvantageous to the free flow of commerce and trade. The traders from distant land had to pay tolls to so many small kingdoms, which became a costly affair. The foreign trade became more or less a sea borne trade and seaports flourished as the major trade centers for exchange and commercial activities. Oceans were considered as natural highways. Moreover, it required no expense on construction, maintenance and supervision. Traders knew that the transportation by water was cheaper and it is comparatively easy to carry huge volume of goods without much expense of energy and labour.

The Indo-Red Sea Route[11]

The emergence of Suez Canal had a significant impact on the trade history of the world. Mesopotamia was no longer the great trade route of the West to East. Egypt now became the meeting place for East and the West. Eudaemon (Aden) in Yamen became the transporting ship station. Three routes from India joined at this station. Ships from Barbarikam (near Karachi), Barygaza (Bharuch) and Muzeris (South India) touched the station of Aden (Srivasthav, 1968). Sailing from Aden, ships touched port of Muza on eastern coast and Adulis port on the western coast. From here it became the coastal route to Suez. As Egypt had a series of ports on the coast and were well connected with roadways as well as waterways to the interior lands, ships followed the coastal route of Egypt up to Brenike, which was a famous African port. From here the route continued to the mouth of Nile, via the port of Myos Hormos. The ultimate port that can be reached was the port of Alexandria from the Suez Canal.

---

[10] Refer Appendix Map 10: The International Sea Routes

[11] Refer Appendix Map 11: The Indo-Red Sea Route

Indo-Mesopotamia Coastal Route[12]

In 3rd Millenary BC, there was a busy trade between Persia and Indus Valley. Ports like Lothal and Barygaza (Bharuch) were the starting points of this route. Starting from the Gulf of Cambay, traders crossed the ports like Patala, Barbarikam (Karachi), Sutka-Koh and Sutkagen-Dor in Makran Coast. Bandar Abbas, Bushir, Reigh, Charax and reaching the Port Basara in Persia by coastal journey along the northern coast of Persian Gulf. Barbarikam was a transit center, while Bandar Reigh was a port of communication between Shiraj and Basara, but was out of track for ships.

Eastern Sea Route[13]

There were two Eastern Routes to China. One route was from South India to Ceylon, proceeding to Sumatra and Java Islands passing by Palembang, which went to Kwei-Kei on Eastern China. Another route was a coastal route from India (Bay of Bengal) to the coast of Burma through Arakan and reaching Palembang via Malayan peninsula to Takkola (Tukua Pa) port, famous for tin and perfume markets, proceeding to Ayuthia and Saigon on the coastal belt reaching Cantoon in Southern China, passing the coast of Champa.

Mediterranean Sea Route[14]

---

[12] Refer Appendix Map 12: Indo-Mesopotamia Coastal Route

[13] Refer Appendix Map 13: Eastern Sea Route

Mediterranean Sea routes were divided between four powers. Egypt in South, Carthage in West, Rome in Center and Phoenicians/ Syrians in East. Ports like Byblos, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, Jaffa and Gaza on Syrian coast came into communication with Crete in 3rd Century BC. Crete had trading posts like Miletus and Athens around the Aegean Sea. Alexandria in Egypt was a major emporium for India goods being supplied to Rome ports. Thus, Mediterranean Sea Route was a circular route passing by the coastal trade centers.

Trade Routes and Globalisation in Antiquity

Due to the diversified topographical distribution of resources and difference in resource endowment in different geographical regions, it necessitated people to obtain commodities from distant areas, as all the commodities may not be available in any one geographical region. The difference of human needs account for the widespread structure of exchange between the masses of different places and nations. People not only produced goods but also a greater variety, which required division of labour among the members of the community. The division of labour resulted into specialization in production and in turn it promoted trade between different groups of traders, businesses and nations. Initially the exchange took place between different places, was mostly barter in nature than real trade. With the growth of commercial enterprise, trade began to assume certain forms and production was earmarked for some definite market. Trade with distant places was usually conducted by foreigners, who met periodically at markets and fairs to sell their commodities. The traders had not only the knowledge of navigation, but sufficient knowledge of land routes, sea routes, deserts, mountain passes and ports. Traders maintained close commercial contacts through these trade routes with various contemporary civilizations, both by overland route and by sea routes.

Conclusion

From the beginning of the civilizations, trade routes played a major role to mobilize the unevenly distributed economic resources. Through ancient trade routes, goods were supplied (transported) from the place, where its production was surplus, to the areas of demand (scarcity). Trade through various trade routes

---

14. Refer Appendix Map 14: Mediterranean Sea Route

has always been one of the main vehicles of the human progress. The political structure and the economic organization of the modern global world were created in the past process of commercial expansions. The trade routes in antiquity were not single roads, but they were more like series of paths and highways that in combination formed extensive networks that linked far-flung lands. The regional, national and global trade developed due to the emergence of ancient land routes and sea routes overtime. The ancient trade routes have been the major mode of the initial commercial expansion, which led to the discovery of the new global world. Evidently the ancient trade routes played a decisive role in political and economic history of the globalization.

References

Chudasama K. 2021. 'Ports as Hubs: An Antiquity Perspective', *Journal of Oriental Institute*, 70, Vadodara: Oriental Institute, 25-46.

Govt. of India 1931. *Trade & Navigation Report of Aden, 1930-31.* Calcutta: Central Publication Branch, 113-281.

Prasad P. 1977. *Foreign Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, New Delhi: Abhinav Publication, 27-91.

Sen S. 1993. 'Trade in western India with special reference to Gujarat (3rd Century B.C. to 7th Century A.D.)', *Ph.D. Thesis*, Vadodara: The M. S. University of Baroda, 1-177.

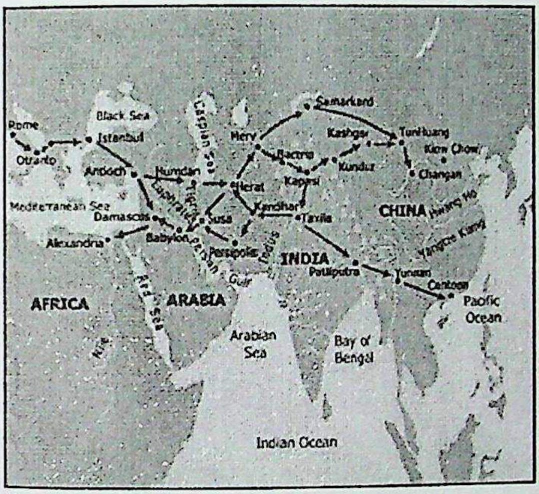
Sidebotham S. 1996. 'Berenike 1995: Preliminary Report of the 1995 Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the Survey of the Egyptian Eastern Desert', *CNWS Publications Special Series 2*, Leiden: CNWS Research School, 197-203.

Srivasthav B. 1968. *Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, Varanasi: The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 12-63.

Veenstra A. and Haralambidies H. 1997. 'Worldwide Experiences of Port Reform'. In: H. Meersman and E. V.D. Voorde (eds.), *Transforming the Port and Transportation Business,* Leuven: Acco Publishing, 1-28.

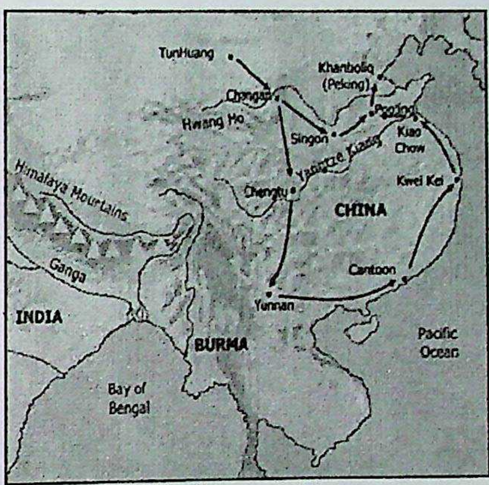
Appendix: Maps

Map 1: Ancient International Highways


Rome
Otranto
Black Sea
Istanbul
Antioch
Caspian Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Damascus
Alexandria
Hamdan
Tigris
Euphrates
Susa
Babylon
Persepolis
Persian Gulf
Red Sea
Nile
AFRICA
ARABIA
Merv
Samarkand
Bactria
Herat
Kapasi
Kandhar
Taxila
Indus
Kashgar
Kunduz
TunHuang
Kiow Chow
Changan
CHINA
Hwang Ho
Yangtze Kiang
INDIA
Patliputra
Yunnan
Cantoon
Pacific Ocean
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Indian Ocean

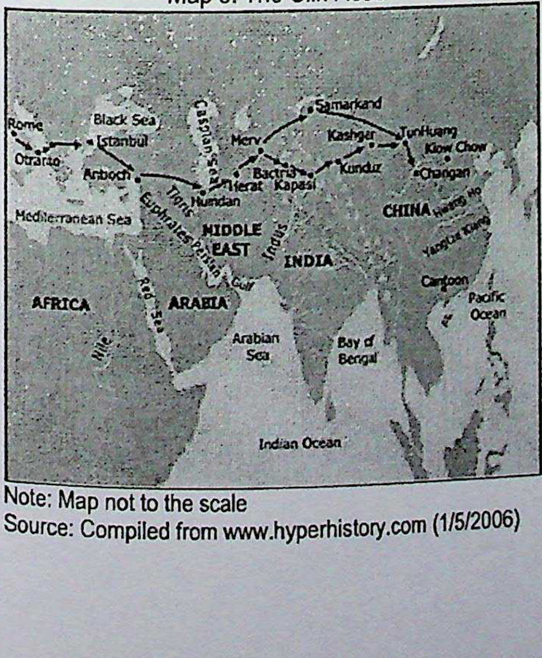
Note: Map not to the scale
Source: Compiled from www.hyperhistory.com (1/5/2006).

Map 2: The Ambassador Road


TunHuang
Khanboliq (Peking)
Chongan
Hwang Ho
Singon
Poofong
Kiao Chow
Yangtze Kiang
Himalaya Mountains
Chengtu
Kwei Kei
CHINA
Ganga
Cantoon
Yunnan
INDIA
BURMA
Pacific Ocean
Bay of Bengal

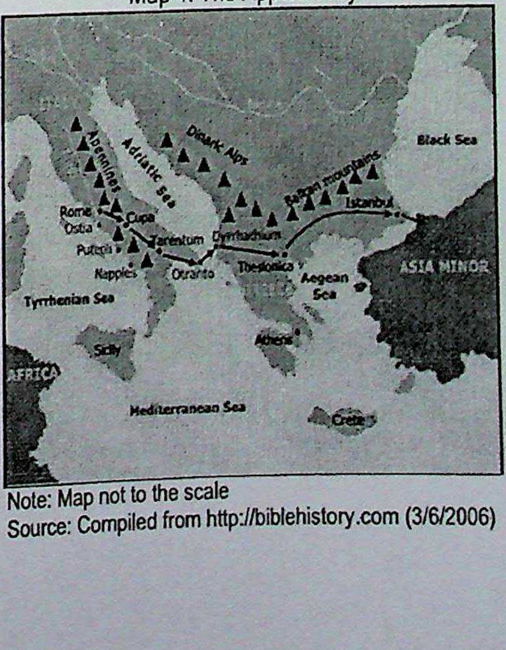
Note: Map not to the scale
Source: Compiled from http://biblehistory.com (18/5/2006).

Map 3: The Silk Road


Rome
Otranto
Black Sea
Istanbul
Antioch
Caspian Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Hamdan
Tigris
Euphrates
MIDDLE EAST
Persian Gulf
Red Sea
Nile
AFRICA
ARABIA
Merv
Samarkand
Bactria
Herat
Kapasi
Kashgar
Kunduz
TunHuang
Kiow Chow
Changan
CHINA
Hwang Ho
Yangtze Kiang
Indus
INDIA
Cantoon
Pacific Ocean
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Indian Ocean

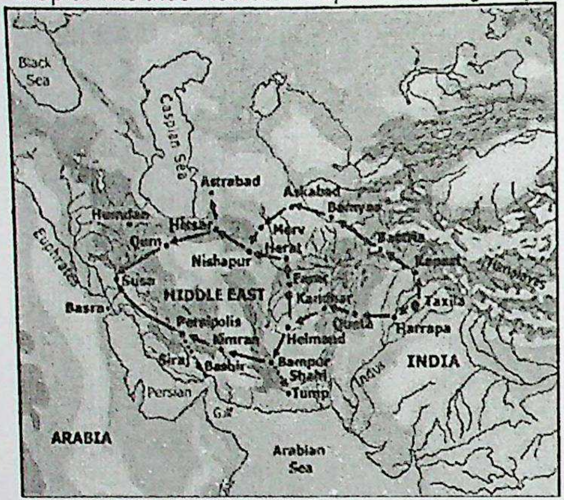
Note: Map not to the scale
Source: Compiled from www.hyperhistory.com (1/5/2006)

Map 4: The Appian Way


Apennines
Adriatic Sea
Dinaric Alps
Balkan mountains
Black Sea
Rome
Ostia
Cupa
Puteoli
Tarentum
Dyrrachium
Istanbul
Napples
Otranto
Thesonica
Aegean Sea
ASIA MINOR
Tyrrhenian Sea
Sicily
Athens
AFRICA
Mediterranean Sea
Crete

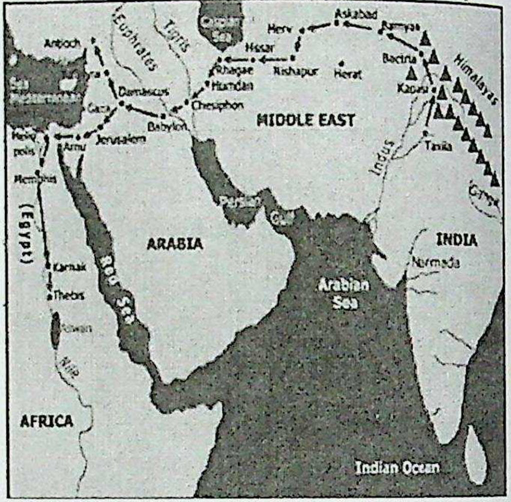
Note: Map not to the scale
Source: Compiled from http://biblehistory.com (3/6/2006)

Map 5: The Indo-Heerat /Persipolis-Susa Highways


Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Astrabad
Askabad
Bamyan
Humdan
Hissar
Merv
Qum
Herat
Bactria
Nishapur
Kapisa
Euphrates
Susa
MIDDLE EAST
Farah
Himalayas
Kandhar
Taxila
Basra
Persipolis
Quetta
Kimran
Helmand
Harrapa
Siraj
Bashir
Bampur
Shahil
INDIA
Indus
Tump
Persian
Gulf
ARABIA
Arabian Sea

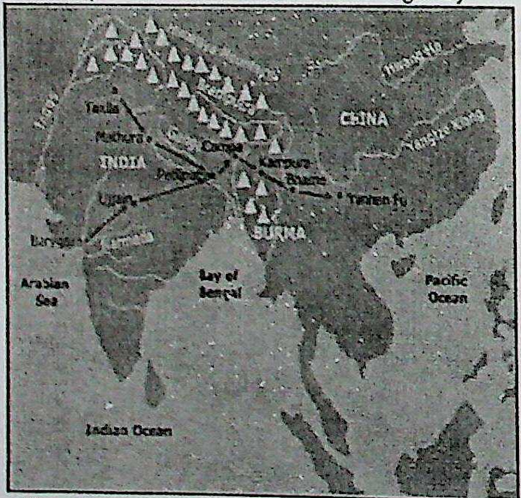
Note: Map not to the scale
Source: Compiled from http://biblehistory.com (8/6/2006)

Map 6: The Indo-Phoenicia-Egypt Highway


Euphrates
Tigris
Caspian Sea
Askabad
Bamyan
Merv
Antioch
Hissar
Bactria
Himalayas
Rhagae
Nishapur
Herat
Kapisa
Humdan
Damascus
Chesiphon
Gaza
MIDDLE EAST
Babylon
Heliopolis
Jerusalem
Taxila
Indus
Memphis
(Egypt)
ARABIA
INDIA
Narmada
Karnak
Thebes
Red Sea
Arabian Sea
Nile
AFRICA
Indian Ocean

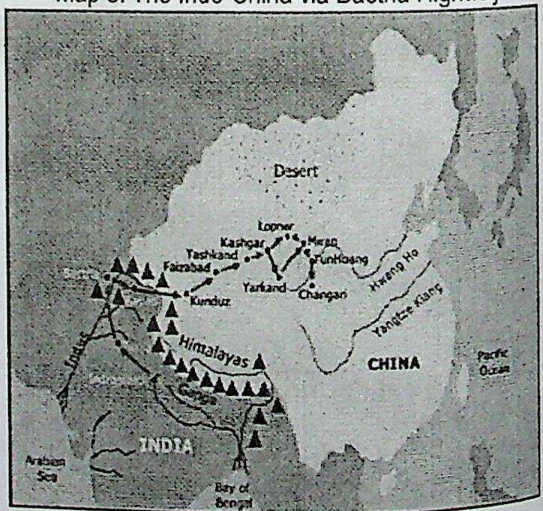
Note: Map not to the scale
Source: Compiled from http://phoenicia.org (10/10/2006)

Map 7: The Eastern Indo-China Highway


Hwang Ho
Indus
Taxila
CHINA
Mathura
Yangtze Kiang
INDIA
Ganga
Campa
Kampura
Pataliputra
Bhamo
Yunnen Fu
Ujjain
BURMA
Barygaza
Narmada
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Pacific Ocean
Indian Ocean

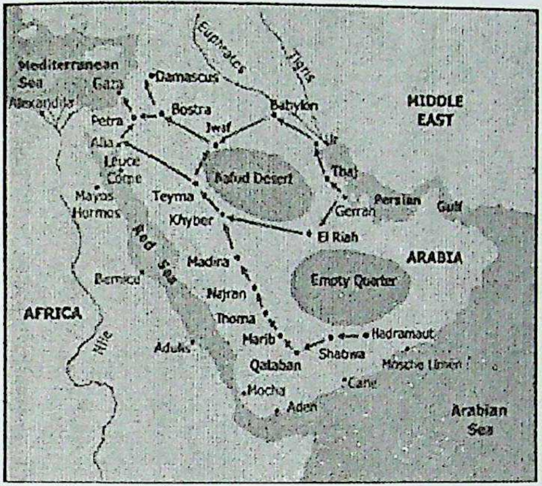
Note: Map not to the scale
Source: Compiled from http://chinapage.com (16/5/2006)

Map 8: The Indo-China via Bactria Highway


Desert
Lopner
Kashgar
Miran
Yashkand
TunHoang
Faizabad
Bactria
Yarkand
Changan
Hwang Ho
Kunduz
Yangtze Kiang
Himalayas
Indus
CHINA
Pacific Ocean
Ganga
INDIA
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal

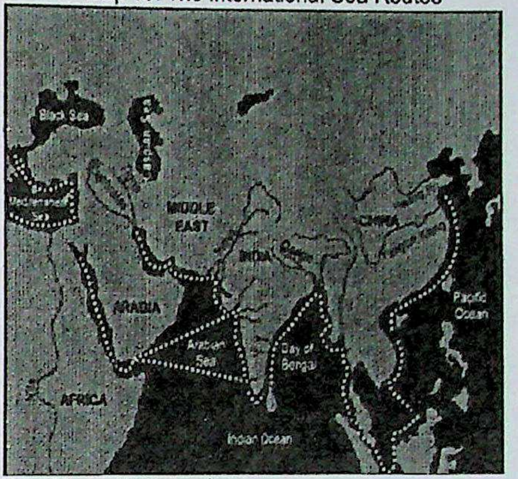
Note: Map not to the scale
Source: Compiled from www.silkroad.com. (12/5/2006).

Map 9: The Nabataean Trade Routes


Mediterranean Sea
Gaza
Damascus
Euphrates
Tigris
Alexandria
Petra
Bostra
Babylon
Jauf
MIDDLE EAST
Aila
Ur
Leuce Come
Nafud Desert
Thaj
Mayos Hormos
Teyma
Persian Gulf
Gerrah
Khyber
El Riah
Red Sea
Madira
ARABIA
Bernice
Najran
Empty Quarter
AFRICA
Thoma
Nile
Marib
Hadramaut
Aduls
Shabwa
Qataban
Moscha Limen
Mocha
Cane
Aden
Arabian Sea

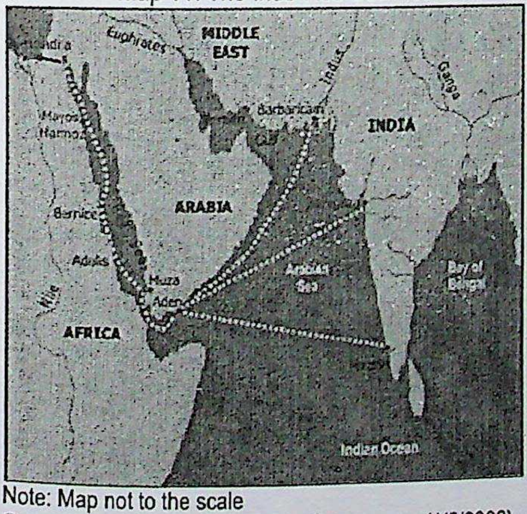
Note: Map not to the scale
Source: http://nabataea.net (17/6/2006)

Map 10: The International Sea Routes


Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
MIDDLE EAST
CHINA
INDIA
ARABIA
Pacific Ocean
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
AFRICA
Indian Ocean

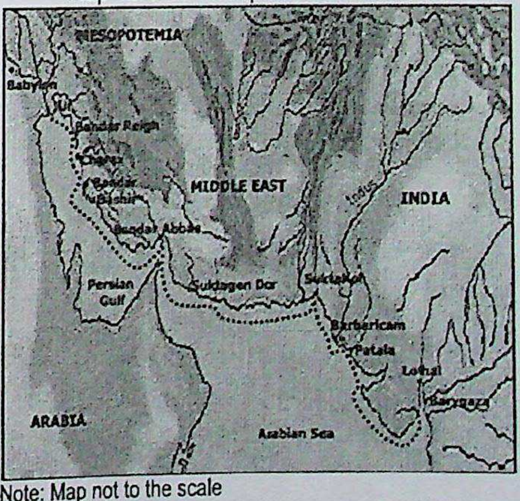
Note: Map not to the scale
Source: Compiled from www.hyperhistory.com (1/5/2006)

Map 11: The Indo-Red Sea Route


Alexandria
Euphrates
MIDDLE EAST
Indus
Ganga
Barbaricam
INDIA
Mayos Hormos
ARABIA
Bernice
Aduls
Muza
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Aden
Nile
AFRICA
Indian Ocean

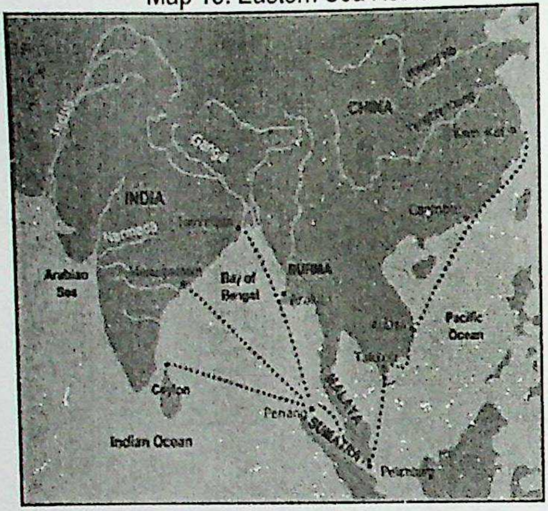
Note: Map not to the scale
Source: Compiled from www.hyperhistory.com (1/5/2006)

Map 12: Indo-Mesopotamia Coastal Route


MESOPOTEMIA
Babylon
Ur
Bandar Reigh
Charax
Bandar Bashir
MIDDLE EAST
INDIA
Bandar Abbas
Indus
Persian Gulf
Suldagen Dor
Suktakot
Barbaricam
Patala
Lothal
Barygaza
ARABIA
Arabian Sea

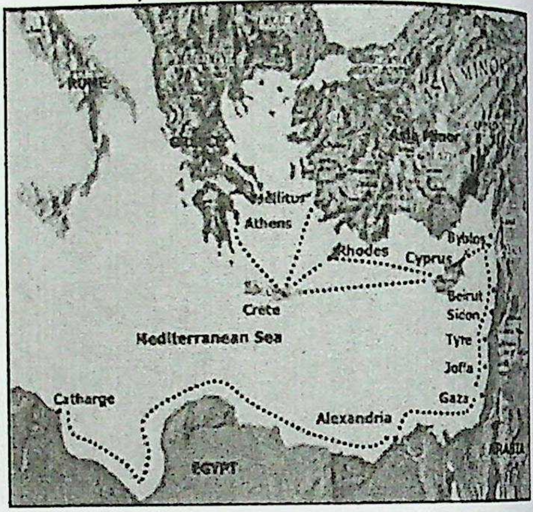
Note: Map not to the scale
Source: Compiled from http://biblehistory.com (10/6/2006)

Map 13: Eastern Sea Route


Indus
Hwang Ho
CHINA
Yangtze Kiang
Ganga
INDIA
Narmada
Canton
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
BURMA
Pacific Ocean
Ceylon
Penang
MALAYA
SUMATRA
Indian Ocean

Note: Map not to the scale
Source: Compiled from http://chinapage.com (16/5/2006)

Map 14: Mediterranean Sea Route


ROME
MINOR
Asia Minor
Militus
Athens
Rhodes
Cyprus
Byblos
Crete
Beirut
Sicon
Tyre
Jof'a
Gaza
Mediterranean Sea
Catharge
Alexandria
EGYPT
ARABIA

Note: Map not to the scale
Source: Compiled from http://biblehistory.com (10/6/2006)

ANTIQUITIES AND REMAINS FROM SOPARA AND CORROBORATORY REFERENCES IN JAINA LITERATURE

Jainacharya Bhagyayashsuri MS *
Monish Shah †
Siddharth Kale ‡

Abstract: Sopara is one of the most important historical sites in western India, along the coast. There are no systematic excavations conducted and the reports were published on the site except two minors, one of which was in late 19th century CE. There are two archaeological mounds which have been declared as protected mounds, though many archaeological remains are scattered throughout the region in the form of mounds as well as sculptural, architectural and epigraphical remains. Geological studies of the region have also revealed the few mysteries of the sea level changes in the region.

Sopara is a unique port site and administrative center which has been mentioned in the inscriptions and literature from 1st century CE at least up to 14th century CE. Many scholars have written and talked about the site from Buddhist and Hindu religious and archaeological aspect on the bases of antiquity remains from the site; the aim of this paper is to bring to notice that along with the Buddhist and Hindu faith, Jainism has also played a

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 193, Vol. 72, 2023 pp. 127-147.

This article was presented at 6th Explorations in Maharashtra Conference, Mumbai University, 2019

* C/o. Dr. Prakash T Punamiya, Punamiya Hospital, Sham Plaza Apartments, Irani Road, Dahanu Road (W) – 401602, +91- 8000663329

† 704, Prathamesh Pooja CHSL, TPS Road 3, Near Kastur Park, Shimpoli Road, Borivali (W). Mumbai – 400092, Email : bawarchaeology@gmail.com

‡ Flat No. 14, Om Surya Apt, Sunder Nagar, Near Central Park, Bolinj Road, Virar (W) – 401303, siddarthkale1230@yahoo.co.in

prominent role at the site on the basis of archaeological and literary sources at Sopara. There are ample of literary evidences that talk about the importance of the place as a Jain pilgrimage center and also an ancient port and trade center.

This paper aims to discuss the results of the recent explorations and the surface findings at Sopara and the adjacent region. They help us to understand the rise, spread and extent of Jainism in the region.

Keywords: Sopara, Jain, Trade, Port, Ancient

Introduction: Ever since Bhagwanlal Indraji has made discovery of the remnants of the past at Sopara in his work "Antiquarian Remains at Sopara and Padana" in 1882, hordes of researchers and enthusiasts have from varied fields have flocked to the region to catch a glimpse of the rich cultural heritage lying in the modern-day suburb of Nallasopara (and the whereabouts). With each new discovery in the subsequent years, either by exploration or archaeological excavation or literary finding or any other means, the evidence adds to the already cemented fact that Sopara or Shurparaka, as it was known, was a very important geopolitical region in the Northern Konkan/Western Coast of India. However, most of the discoveries made, hardly flirts with the contribution made from the Jain aspect towards the rich cultural heritage of the region. With this paper, the authors would like to shed some light on the antiquities and remains from the Jain context and also cross reference it with literary sources.

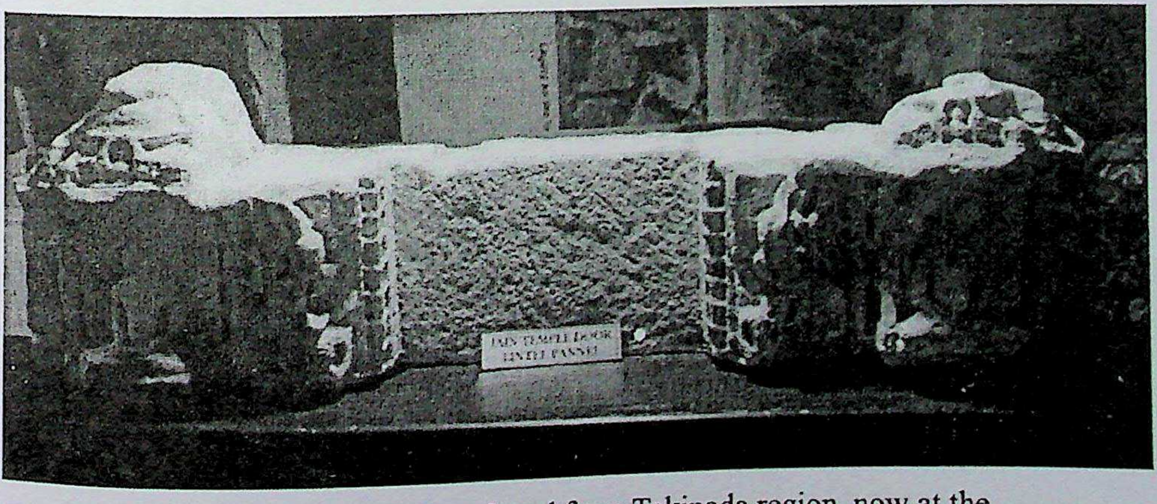
Methodology: We will first look into the material remains from the region - the remains from earlier finds as well as the antiquities that we have come across during our research. Once we cover the archaeological remains, we will dive into the literary references as well as some of the oral traditions that are relevant to the research of this paper. Once we are done with these, we will provide an analysis trying to associate a link between the data and material evidence and also to post some questions that can be solved with further research.

Part 1

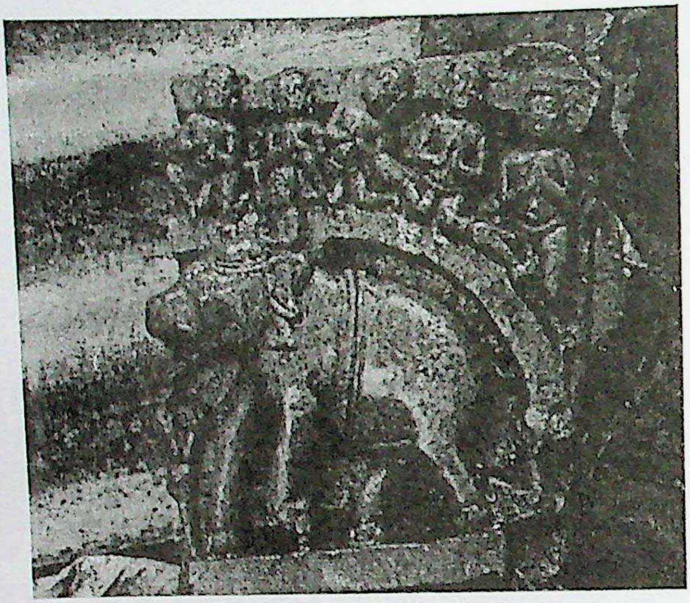
Material Remains

A. Existing Jain antiquity

During his research in the last quarter of the 19th century, Bhagwanlal Indraji came across various antiquarian remains from the Jain context, amongst others. Some of the remains still continue to exist while some are either misplaced or gone or are yet to be discovered. Amongst the ones remaining are the lintel of a Jain temple (made in marble) found from Takipada region of the *Gaas* village, a panel bearing an elephant indicating Jain connection, various temple plinths, Jain Ambika image and a few others. Please refer to the images to take a look at the mentioned antiquities. Now, a temple plinth cannot be regarded as belonging to a particular faith unless we find something to bolster the association; but the remains have been found from a region which Indraji advocated as remains of a Jain temple. Hence for the sake of this paper we may take that into consideration without claiming it to be 100% true, unless further evidence found.

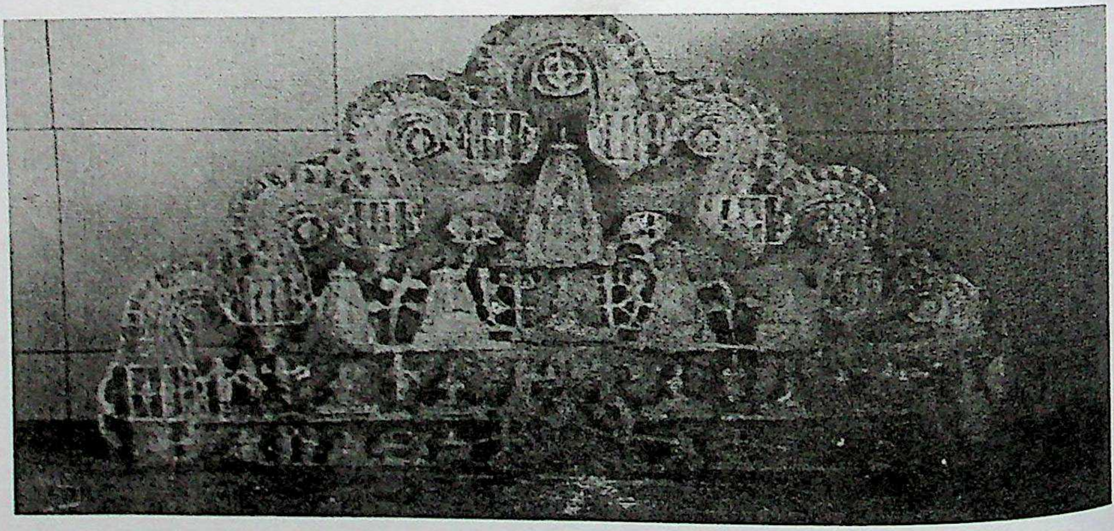


Marble temple lintel with *Jinas* found from Takipada region, now at the University of Mumbai



A broken panel with Elephant

Jain Ambika

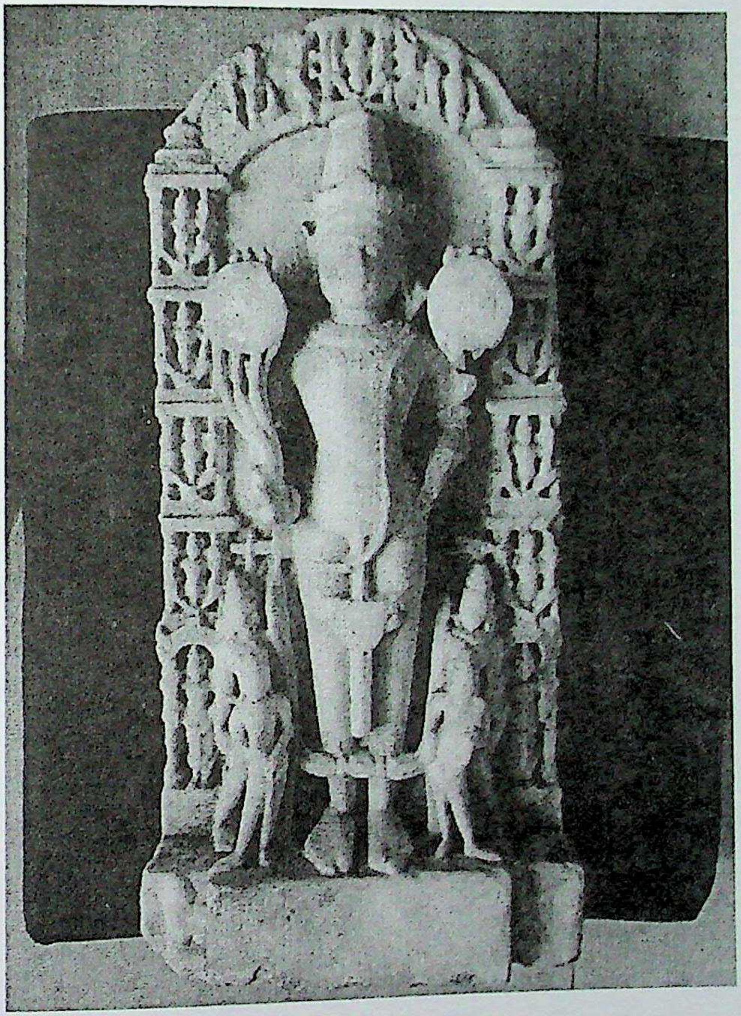


An unidentified heavily weathered broken panel with *Jina* images

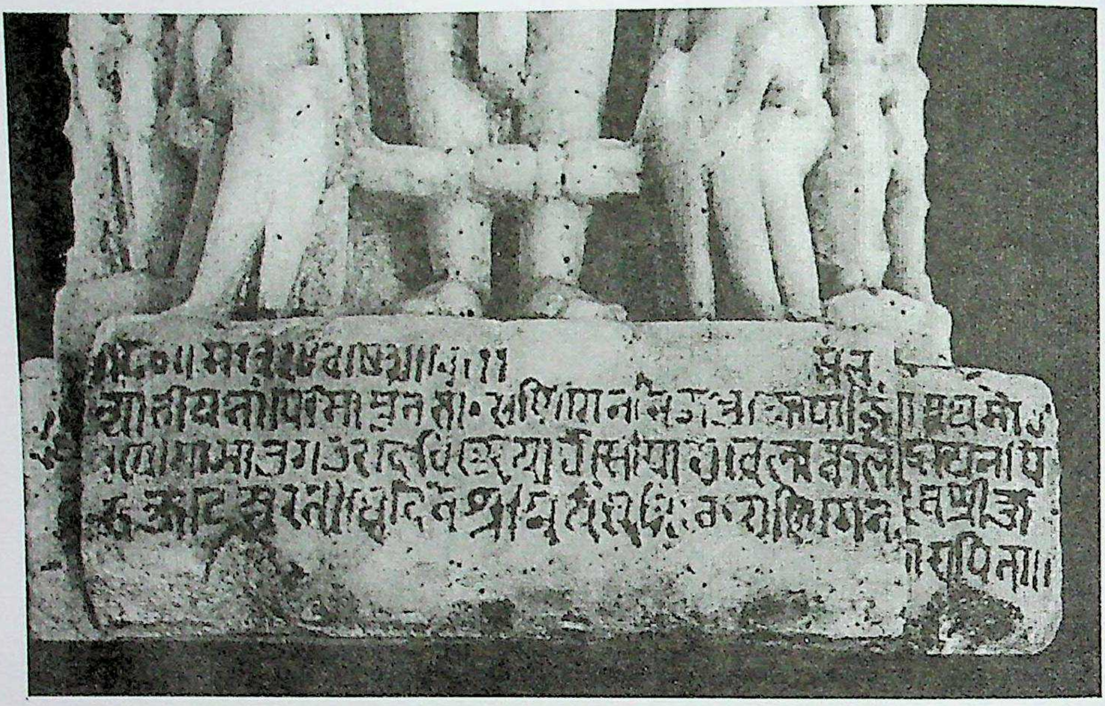
B. New Findings

These are the findings that are especially going to be discussed in this paper because these are the recent findings that the authors of the paper have come across. For maintaining the flow and simplicity, the data will be first listed down in this section and the inferences will be given in the later part of the paper.

1. Marble Sūrya Image



The Sūrya image in consideration



The inscription at the bottom of the image

This Sūrya image is in the custody of the *Acalagaccha* Jain *Saṁgha* of Sopara and though the dates in the oral accounts vary, locals are of the opinion that this was found during a construction activity in the area some 30-40 years ago. The area in which it was found is also debated amongst the residents, but ranges in the vicinity of Cakreśwara to Gaas belt – the same region that might have been the Sonarbhat referred by Indraji.

The inscription of at the bottom reads: ॥र्द०॥ सं.१३३४ वर्षे शाके ११ .... म्पलवास्तव्य मोढन्यातीयनां पोमा सुत ठा.राणिगेन निजपुत्रो(ण्यो) पार्जितद्रव्येन पितृ पोमा मातु गउरदेवि श्रेयोर्थं सोपारावेलाकुले देव श्रीकुरुकुटेश्वरतीर्थे देव श्रीसूर्य मूर्तिः ठ. राणिगेन कारापिता

The rough translation of the inscription comes to: In *Śaka* year 1334, 11 ....belonging to Moḍhanyātīyanam Poma's son Thā. Raṇigena, with the help of funding from his son Parjita, for the welfare of his Father Poma and Mother Gauradevi, at the coastal town of Sopara at Śrī Kurkuṭeswaratīrtha commissioned for Śrī Sūrya Mūrti

Some part of the inscription is missing. This Sūrya image belongs to the *Śaka* year 1334 (1412 CE) and was installed at Śrī Kurkuṭeswaratīrtha. This indicates that there was already a settlement during the start of the 15th century.

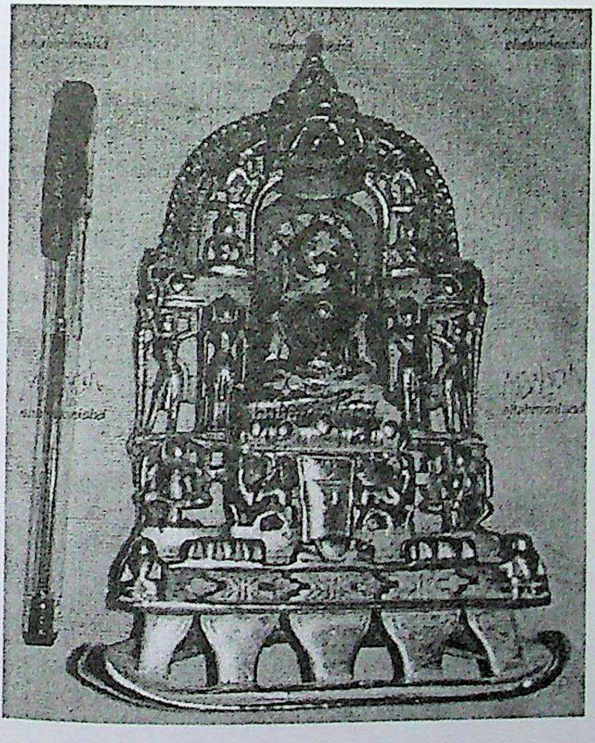
2. Metal Images / Bronze Images

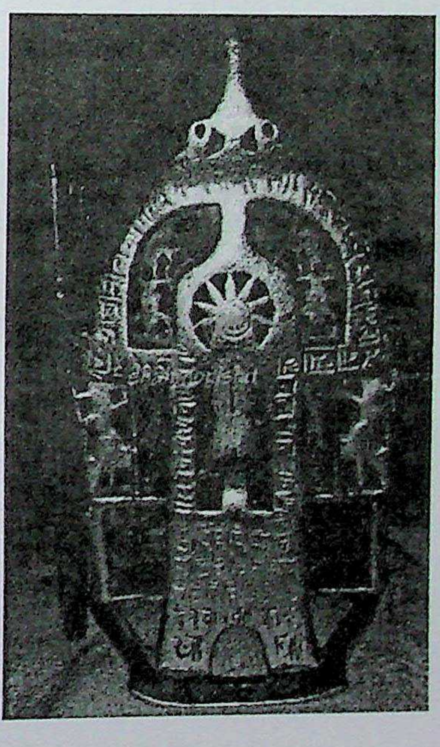
In 1939, Ranchodlal Gnani from Prince of Wales museum mentioned regarding a hoard of metal images found from Sopara and they were handed over to the Nala and Agashi Jain *Saṁgha* for custody. There are 7 metal *Tīrthaṅkara* images that lay with the Agashi Jain Temple Trust today; either they independently belong to the trust or are the ones mentioned by Gnani.

The 7 images in the order of their making year are as follows: -

I. **Neminātha** VS 1515/1458 CE *Pañcatīrthī*

- Inscription is not so legible. Date is VS 1515. Image of Neminātha.

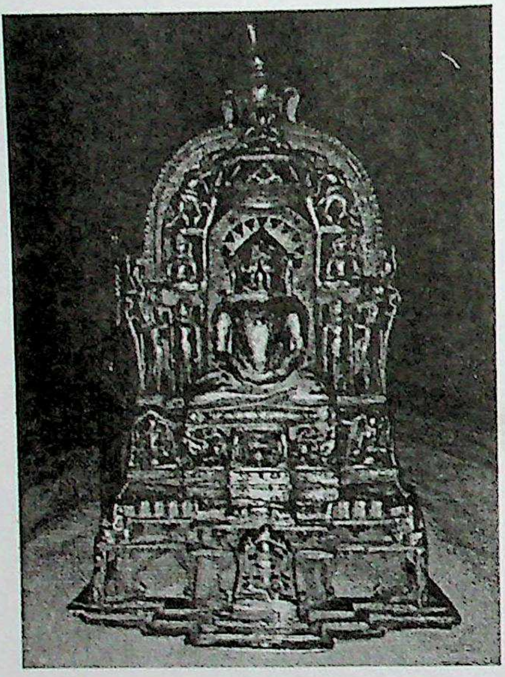


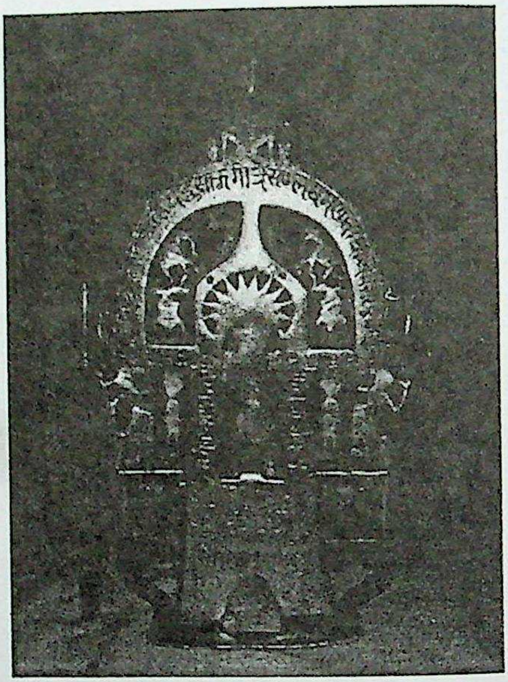


II. **Ādinātha** VS 1518/1461 CE *Pañcatīrthī*

- सं. १५१८ वर्षे माघ सुदि १० बुधे श्रीमालज्ञातीय दुसाकु (?) गोत्रे सं. लखमण भार्या लखमादे तत्पुत्र मं. कांडणेन(?) भार्या मल्हाईयुतेन कारितं श्रीआदिनाथबिंबं प्र. खरतरगच्छे श्रीजिनतिलकसूरिश्वैरः शुभमस्तु ॥

- On *Māgha Suda* 10, Budha, 1518, Lakhman belonging to Śrīmālajñātī – Dusāku Gotra, along with his wife Lakhmade and son Kāṇḍanena and daughter-in-law Malhāī commissioned Śrī Ādinātha image under the guidance of Śrī Jinatilakasūriśvara M.S.

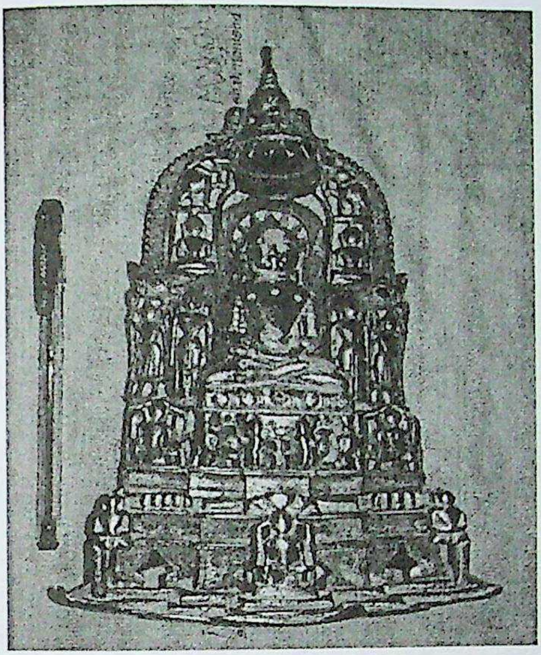


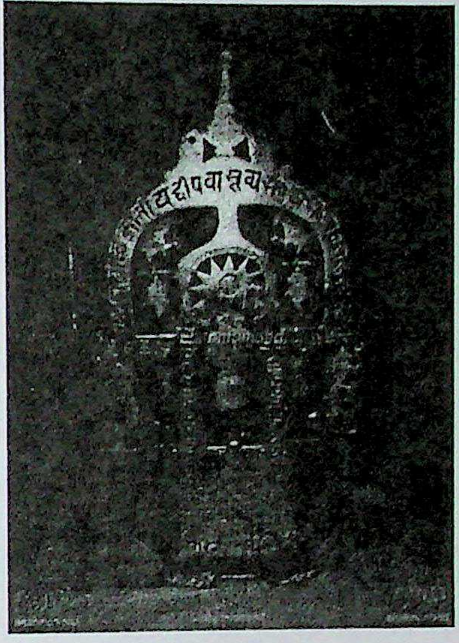


III. **Sumatinātha** VS 1527 / 1470 CE *Pañcatīrthī*

- सं. १५२७ वर्षे ज्येष्ठ वदि २५ शुक्रे मोढज्ञातीय द्वीपवास्तव्य सं.अदा भा.सुहसी पुत्र सं.मंडलिकेन भा. माणिकि भगिनी देमाति कुटुंबयुतेन स्वमातृ-पितृश्रेयसे श्रीसुमतिनाथबिंब आगमगच्छे देवरत्नसुरिगुरूपदेशेन कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं ॥

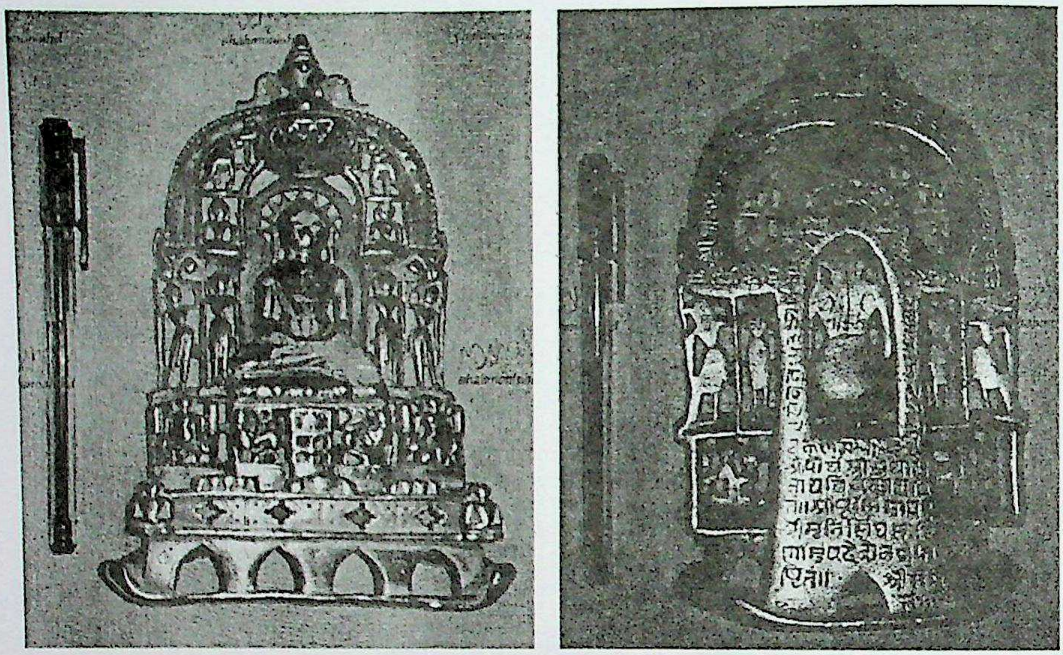
- On *Jyeṣṭḥa* Vada 2, *Śukra,* 1527, resident of *Dvīpa* region (probably modern Diu) and belonging to *Modhajñātī*, *Adā* with wife Śuhasī and son Maṇḍaliken and daughter-in-law Māṇiki and daughter Demati *Kutumba,* for the welfare of their Mother and Father, commissioned and installed the image of Śrī Sumatinātha under the *guru-updeśa* of Śrī Devaratnasūri from *Āgamagaccha*.





IV. **Śreyanśanātha** VS1531/1474CE *Pañcatīrthī*

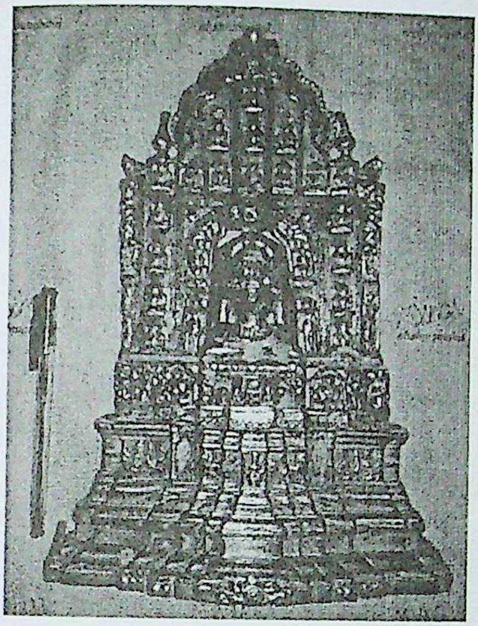
- ॥ सं. १५३१ वर्षे माह वदि ८ सोम श्रीश्रीमालज्ञातीय .....० वाघा भार्या हखू(र्खू?) सुत भ०........................ वइरसी भा० काहू सुत लटकण .... हखू(र्खू?)श्रेयोर्थं श्रीश्रेयांसनाथबिंबं कारापितं श्रीपूर्णिमापक्षे श्रीमुनिसिंघसूरिणामुदपेशेन प्रतिष्ठितं श्रीसंघेन
- On *Māgha* (Maha) *Vadi* 8, Soma, 1531, Vāghā belonging to *Śrīśrīmālajñatīya*, along with his wife Hakhu (Harkhu?) and son ....Vairasī and wife Kāhū and her son Laṭkaṇa, for the welfare of Hakhu(Harkhu?), commissioned Sri Śreyanśanātha image under Śrī Munisinghsūri of Śrī Purnimāgaccha, which was then installed *(Pratiṣṭhā)* by Śrī Saṁgha.

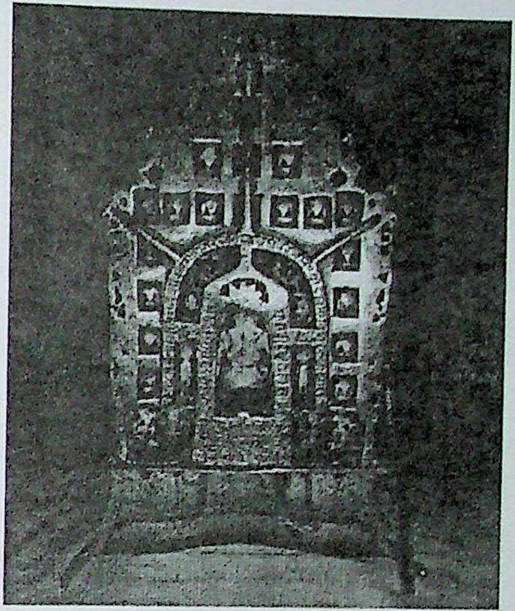


V. **Sambhavanātha** VS 1533 / 1476 CE *Caturviṁsati / Chovīsī*

- ॥ सं. १५३३ वर्षे वैशाख सुदि ३ प्राग्वाटज्ञातीय वृद्धशाखा मं० डूंगर भा० लाडू पुत्ररत्नमं. वीरमदेवेन भार्या आसू पुत्र पास-वीर-देवदासादि कुटुंबयुतेन निजश्रेयार्थे श्रीसंभवनाथ चतुर्विंशतिपट्टः कारितः

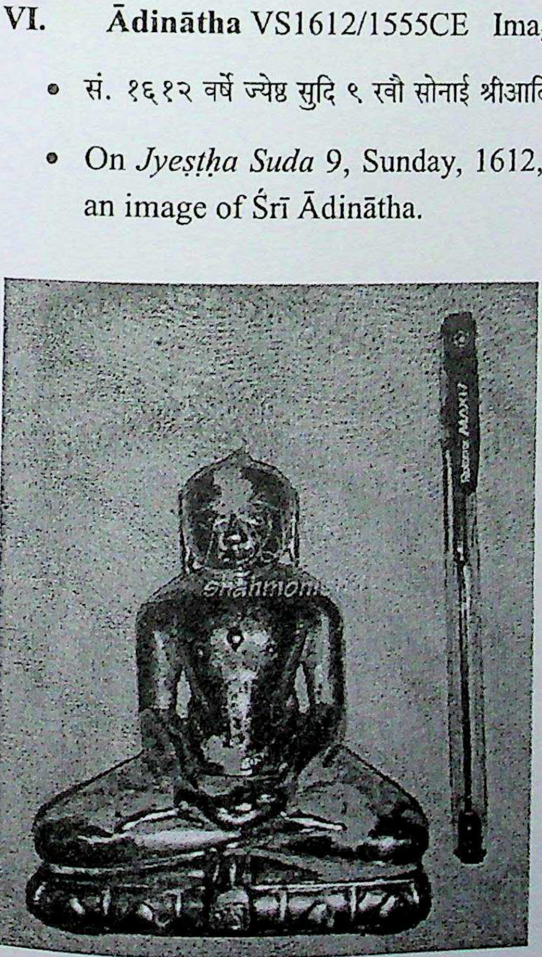
- On *Vaiśākha Sudi* 3, 1533, Dūngara belonging to Śrī Prāgvaṭajñātī (Porwal), along with his wife Lādū and son Vīramadevena and his wife Āsū and their son Pāsavīra-devadāsādi *Kutumba*, for their own welfare, commissioned Śrīsambhavanātha image with *Caturviṁsatipaṭṭa*.

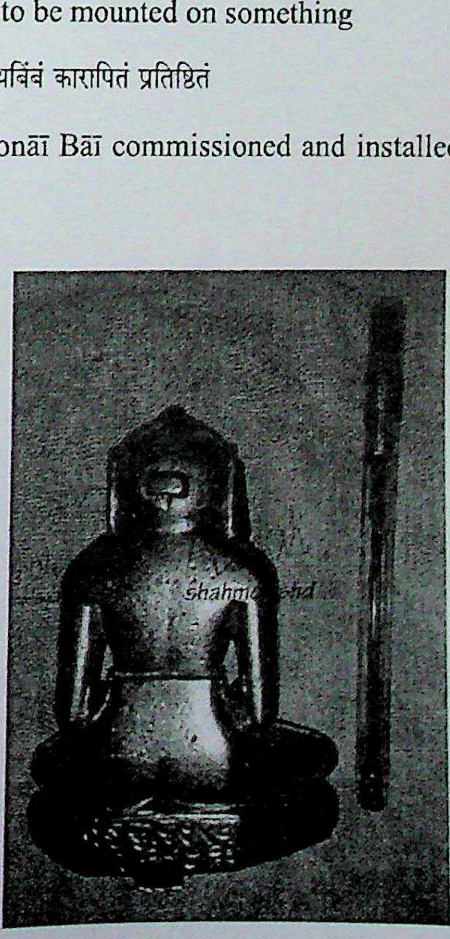




VI. Ādinātha VS1612/1555CE Image to be mounted on something

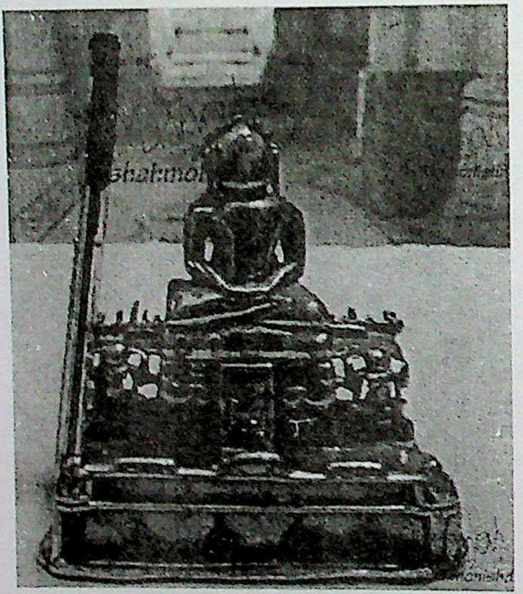
- सं. १६१२ वर्षे ज्येष्ठ सुदि ९ रवौ सोनाई श्रीआदिनाथबिंबं कारापितं प्रतिष्ठितं
- On *Jyeṣṭḥa Suda* 9, Sunday, 1612, Sonāī Bāī commissioned and installed an image of Śrī Ādinātha.

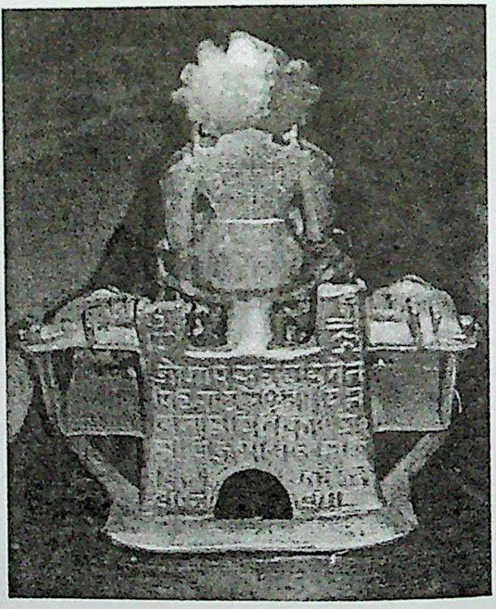




VII. Vimalanātha *Pañcatīrthī*

- सं.. ....नारद-जोगा-पवायणयुतेन पितृ-मातृ श्रे. श्रीविमलनाथबिंबं का.प्र. श्रीविजयसिंहसूरिभिः ऊघरजवास्तव्य ॥
- (Broken).. ....Nārada-Jogā-Pavāyaṇa for welfare of their parents, commissioned and installed Śrī Vimalanātha image under Śrī Vijayasimhasūribhi from Ughraja region.





Details of the 7 metal images are as follows: -

Sr.no	*Tīrthaṅkara*	Date	Dimesnsion	Weight	Type
1	Neminātha	VS1515/1458CE	152mm x 92mm	0.630kg	*Pañcatīrthī*
2	Ādinātha	VS1518/1461CE	212mm x 138mm	1.08kg	*Pañcatīrthī*
3	Sumatinātha	VS1527/1470CE	200mm x 130mm	1.05kg	*Pañcatīrthī*
4	Śreyanśanātha	VS1531/1474CE	168mm x 102mm	0.780kg	*Pañcatīrthī*

5	Sambhavanātha	VS1533/1476CE	290mm x 205mm	2.2kg	*Caturviṁsati*
6	Ādinātha	VS1612/1555CE	105mm x 82mm	1.01kg	Image to be mounted on something
7	Vimalanātha	NA (Broken)	107mm x 107mm	0.580kg	Mostly *Pañcatīrthī*

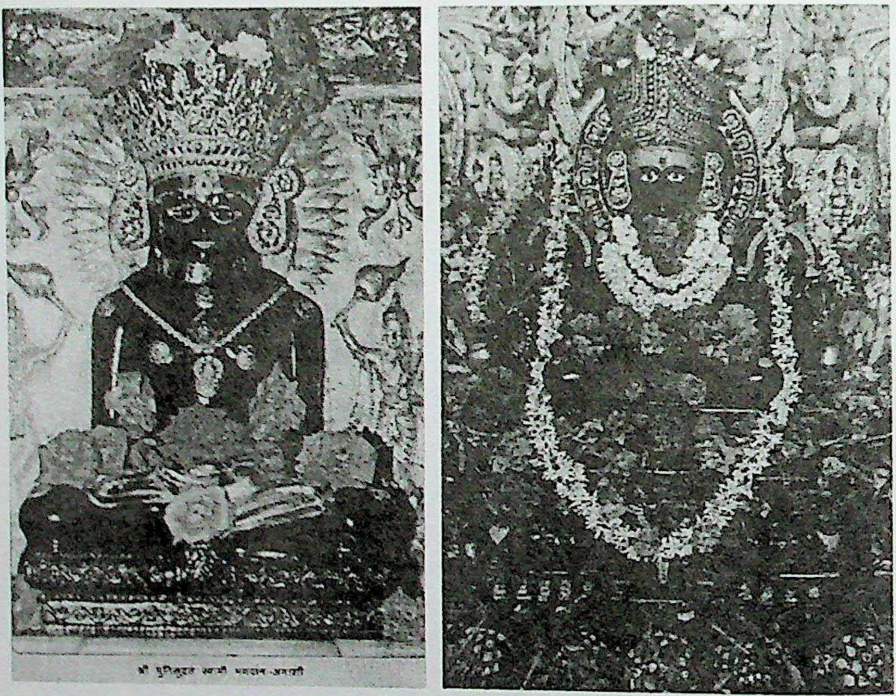
- The images range from 1458CE to 1555CE covering a span of almost 100 years, indicating the presence of Jains in the 15th and the 16th century.
- There seems to be a change in the metallurgy of the 6th image (Ādinātha) as the image is comparatively smaller in size and yet weighs more. This is also a distinct image as compared to others as there are hooks at the back and it would have been mounted onto something.
- The 7th image of Vimalanātha could not be dated as it is broken.
- The use of various metals can be seen especially around the pedestal and the eyes (*cakṣu*) region – silver or copper or some other metal to stylistically add to the design around the *Tīrthaṅkara*.
- The style of writing the inscription is almost the same in all the images, though in some the parts of the inscriptions are missing. The format starts with the date, followed by the *jñatī* (loosely guild/clan/community) to which they belong, followed by the person donating (either commissioning or installing or both), followed by the ones for whose welfare it is commissioned and ending with the names of the *Ācārya*s presiding the entire event and their *gaccha*.
- Out of the 7 images, 3 could not be determined. Out of the remaining 4, 2 have been commissioned by Śrīmalajñatī, 1 by the Modhas and 1 by the Porwals.

3. Agashi Jain Temple

Apart from housing these Bronzes, Agashi Jain temple itself is the biggest surviving testament of the Jain population in the region. The temple is an almost

200 year old temple commissioned by the wealthy merchant from Mumbai – Moti Shah Seth, who has commissioned other famous and important temples.

The story of how the presiding deity of *Tīrthaṅkara* Śrī Munisuvrata Swami is very interesting. The idol was found from the Cakreśvara Talāo and it was brought to the current location, Chalpeth Agashi, on a bullock-less bullock-cart (keeping in mind the Jain concept of *ahiṁsā*) and installed here. The story is very important because it links Cakreśvara, which is a very important region from various aspects.



The presiding deity at Agashi Jain Temple – 20th *Tīrthaṅkara* Munisuvrataswāmī

Left: Old Idol before *Jirnnodhāra*. *Right:* New Idol with *Parikara* post *Jirnnodhāra*

Part 2

Literary and other sources to support the findings

Sopara or Shurparaka has been referred to in many Jain texts, by various other names too. *Paumācariya* (Jain version of *Rāmāyaṇa*) also mentions

Sopara. It mentions that Lava-Kusha had conquered Sopara, amongst other places. According to *Shripala Raja No Ras* by *Upādhyāya* Vinayavijayaji and *Upādhyaya* Yaśovijayaji, King Śripāla married Tilakasundari, who was the daughter of King Mahāsena of Sopara. Emperor Aśoka's grandson *Samrāṭa* Samprati (2nd century BCE) was an ardent follower of Jainism and had given patronage for safe travel of monks and pilgrims in Sopara region.

- **Jivitaswami and Taleti**

Ācārya Jinaprabhasūri mentions Sopara as one of the 84 most important *tīrtha*s for the Jains, in his 14th century magnum opus *Vividha Tīrtha Kalpa*. He mentions that there is an image of Ādinātha in Sopara which people worship as jivitaswāmī. There are various poems and other works, written at various points of time, mentioning worship of jivitaswāmī *Pratimā* of Ṛṣabhadeva/ Ādinātha – *Śrī* Sopara-vijñaptikā, Soparak jivitaswāmī Ṛṣhabhadeva-pratimā, Soparaka Stavana and others.

Another belief amongst Jain faith is that Sopara is an ancient *taleṭī* (foothill) of the most revered Śatruñjaya hill by the Svetāmbara Jains. This belief amongst the Jains is that *Bharata-cakravartī,* the son of 1st *Tīrthaṅkara* Ādinātha, had come on *Yātra* from his capital city, Ayodhyā, to climb the sacred hill of Śatruñjaya. He climbed the hill from 4 directions and one of the places from where he started climbing is the ancient Surparaka. That is how he established the place Surparaka which was the ancient foothill of Śatruñjaya.

Another legend among the Hindus and Jains regarding creation of Cakreśvara Talāo is interesting. Some believe that the *talāo* is formed with Vishnu's *cakra;* while some Jains believe that the water body acquires its name from Cakreśvaridevi, the *yakṣinī* of 1st *Tīrthaṅkara* Ādinātha. Cakreśvara is one of the most important regions preserving the remnants of the past outside the Cakreśvara Mahādeva temple and is not far away from the regions discussed.

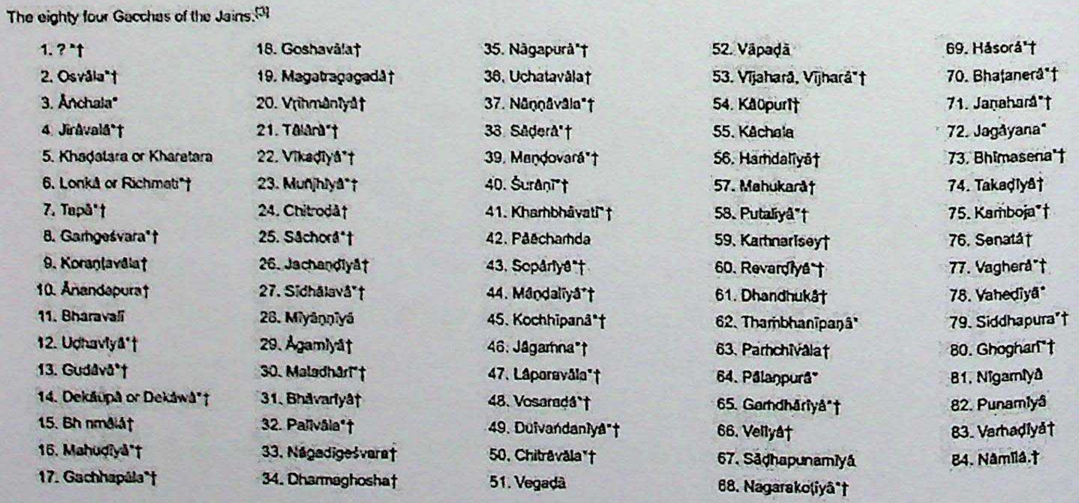
This entire link around Ādinātha – jivitaswāmī, taletī of Śatruñjaya, Cakreśvaridevi, formation by his son Bharatacakravarti – all goes on to cement one idea that at least one, if not more, very important place of worship of Ādinātha was prevalent in Sopara.

• Formation of *Gacchas* and *Āgama Vacana*

The Jains have various *Gacchas* (loosely translates to factions or sects) which have their own sets of rules and functioning. In the ancient times, there were 84 *gacchas*, the seeds of which were sown in Sopara circa 1st century BCE – 1st century CE. The following classification shows how it came into existence according to the Jain texts: -

- Vajrasenasūri
    - Nagendrasūri → 21 *Gacchas*
    - Candrasūri → 21 *Gacchas*
    - Nirvruttisūri → 21 *Gacchas*
    - Vidyādharasūri → 21 *Gacchas*

This is how *Ācārya* Vajrasenasūri sowed the seeds and 84 *Gacchas* came into existence. Out of the 84 *Gacchas*, one was Shurparaka or Sopariya *Gacchas*. Sopariya *gaccha* was still active till 1953 CE. Ranchhodlal Gnani also mentions about the Sopara *gaccha* prevalent during the 1st half of the 20th century.



The eighty four Gacchas of the Jains.[3]

1. ? *†
2. Osvâla*†
3. Ânchala*
4. Jirâvalâ*†
5. Khaḍatara or Kharatara
6. Lonkâ or Richmati*†
7. Tapâ*†
8. Gaṁgeśvara*†
9. Koranṭavâla†
10. Ânandapura†
11. Bharavalī
12. Uḍhaviyâ*†
13. Gudâvâ*†
14. Dekâupâ or Dekâwâ*†
15. Bh nmâlâ†
16. Mahuḍiyâ*†
17. Gachhapâla*†
18. Goshavâla†
19. Magatragagadâ†
20. Vṛihmâṇīyâ†
21. Tâlârâ*†
22. Vikaḍiyâ*†
23. Muñjhiyâ*†
24. Chitrodâ†
25. Sâchorâ*†
26. Jachanḍiyâ†
27. Sīdhâlavâ*†
28. Miyâṇṇīyâ
29. Âgamiyâ†
30. Maladhârī*†
31. Bhâvariyâ†
32. Pallīvâla*†
33. Nâgadigeśvara†
34. Dharmaghosha†
35. Nâgapurâ*†
36. Uchatavâla†
37. Nâṇṇâvâla*†
38. Sâḍerâ*†
39. Manḍovarâ*†
40. Śurâṇī*†
41. Khaṁbhâvatī*†
42. Pââchaṁda
43. Sopâriyâ*†
44. Mâṇḍalīyâ*†
45. Kochhīpanâ*†
46. Jâgaṁna*†
47. Lâporavâla*†
48. Vosaraḍâ*†
49. Duīvaṅdaniyâ*†
50. Chitrâvâla*†
51. Vegaḍâ
52. Vâpaḍâ
53. Vījaharâ, Vījharâ*†
54. Kâûpurī†
55. Kâchala
56. Haṁdalīyâ†
57. Mahukarâ†
58. Putalīyâ*†
59. Kaṁnarīsey†
60. Revarḍiyâ*†
61. Dhandhukâ†
62. Thaṁbhanīpaṇâ*
63. Paṁchīvâla†
64. Pâlaṇpurâ*
65. Gaṁdhâriyâ*†
66. Veliyâ†
67. Sâḍhapunamīyâ
68. Nagarakoṭiyâ*†
69. Hâsorâ*†
70. Bhaṭanerâ*†
71. Jaṇaharâ*†
72. Jagâyana*
73. Bhīmasena*†
74. Takaḍiyâ†
75. Kaṁboja*†
76. Senatâ†
77. Vagherâ*†
78. Vaheḍīyâ*
79. Siddhapura*†
80. Ghogharī*†
81. Nīgamīyâ
82. Punamīyâ
83. Varhaḍiyâ†
84. Nâmilâ.†

Ācārya Yakṣadevasuri, the 17th head of the Pārśvanātha *paramparā* (followers of 23rd *Tīrthaṅkara* Pārśvanātha's tradition) had visited during the end of 12-year famine in Veer Saṁvat 585 (58CE). Here he tried to restore and salvage the *Āgamas* by conducting an *Āgama Vacana*. *Āgama Vacana* is a congregation of *Sādhus* where they memorize the *Āgamas*, as there was no proper way of writing these *Āgama*s down. More than 1000 *Sādhu*s and *Sādhvī*s were part of this congregation.

- **Kuvalayamālā (8th century CE)**

An 8th century book Kuvalayamālā (778 CE) mentions the chronicles of a merchant Lobhadeva from Takshashila who came to *Dakṣiṇapāṭha* to Sopara to sell his horses. At Sopara he meets a *Śreṣṭhina* (guild-head/banker) who helps him sell his horses and helps him become rich.

Interestingly, it mentions that at *Sopparaya* traders had their own clubs and customs and foreign traders had to share their adventures. This indicates that foreigners would be frequenting the region. It also describes a *Tīrtha-yātrika* with reference to dress and equipment. It also mentions the necessity of princes to ride horses and the author also mentions in detail the 18 different breeds of horse along with *varṇa* and *lānchhana*. (Upadhye: 1970). The way this book describes horses and horse trade in such detail makes the authors believe that the Jain community at Sopara or the person who commissioned the book was perhaps involved in horse trade. Another indicator to support the idea is that *Ghodbunder*, which is supposed to be a port involved in horse trade according to scholars, is not far away from Sopara.

- **Chinchani Copperplates-Modhas-Sanjan (11th century CE)**

Out of the 5 copperplates found at Chichani, 3 seem to have been issued (2 for sure and 1 assumed) by the Modhas, who are Chiefs from *Samyana (Sanjan)* – with the dates *Śaka* 956 (1034CE), *Śaka* 969 (1048CE) and *Śaka* 975 (1053CE).

The Modhas seem to have got their name from the town of Modhera which is also important because of the Sun Temple constructed by King Bhīmadeva in the 1st half of 11th century. Modhas are also principally Sun-God worshippers' *mayukha-malina* who rose to prominence under the *Rāṣṭrakuta*s. The copperplates also hint at them being Brahmana and Banyā communities who have migrated and settled in parts of Northern Konkan.

It is quite possible that while they were settled at Sanjan and also at Sopara (Modha *jñāti*), they were still sun worshippers.

There is also a Modherakka *Gaccha* that was prevalent and an important *Jainācārya* Bappabhaṭṭasuri (9th century CE) belonged to the *gaccha*. Like Sopara *gaccha* originated from Sopara, Modherakka originated from Modhera.

- **Vastupāla and Tejapāla (12th century CE)**

Vastupāla and Tejapāla were ministers of the *Solankis* and had grown to prominence in the 12th century. Vastupāla Caritra mentions that Vastupāla and Tejapāla were born in Sopara around VS 1235 – VS 1240 (~1178CE). They are the ones who had commissioned for the construction of the famous Delwara temples.

The work mentions about the philanthropic works conducted by both the brothers which mention that they had given donations for construction of 700 *Brahmasālās*, 700 *Maṭhas*, 3002 Śiva Temples, 84 ponds, 464 wells, and 64 masjids; some of which might have been made in Sopara. Apart from this, they had taken various *tīrthayātrās* but importantly 2 *yātrās* were taken to Sopara.

Since Vastupāla and Tejapāla were ministers of the *Solankis* (again from the lineage of Bhīmadeva), there is a possibility that they were also influenced into Sun-God worshipping.

- **Pethad Kumar Caritra and Sūrya Image and *Kurkuṭesvara Tīrtha* (13th – 14th - 15th century CE)**

Pethad Shah (1223-1283CE) was a notable figure in Jain history (also in the history of western India). Pethad Kumar caritra mentions that Pethad Kumar had constructed various temples across length and breadth of the nation and one such temple was a C temple at Sopara.

Vividha Tīrtha Kalpa **(1333CE)** mentions a Kalikunda *Kurkuṭeśvara* Pārśvanātha *tīrtha*. Kurkut basically means a snake; so, the name hints at Pārśvanātha. There are various followers who also address Śiva as *Kurkuṭeśvara* because of the snake.

Out of the 108 Pārśvanātha (according to an old list) on Pārśvanātha is Sopari Pārśvanātha or Sopariya Pārśvanātha.

The inscription at the bottom of the Sūrya image found mentions that the Sūrya image was installed at *Kurkuṭeśvara tīrtha* in *Śaka* 1334 (1412CE). Also, to be noted is the same style of writing the *Śaka* date (all other inscriptions are *Vikrama Saṁvat*) by the Modhas at Samyana is used by the Modhas who commissioned for the Sūrya image at *Kurkuṭeśvara tīrtha*.

Part 3

Concluding inferences and questions to ponder

Do the link and the continuation from Modhas at Samyana to Vastupāla - Tejapāla to Pethad Shah to Modhas of Sūrya image hint towards few things and questions: -

1. A Sun-God worshipping cult still prevalent when the Sūrya image was installed?
2. Was the image installed at an already existing Kurkuṭeśvara tīrtha constructed during the time of Pethad Kumar Shah?
3. After a successful rise to prominence at Sanjan, did the Modhas again settled for their old traits of *baniā* and spent money earned from trade towards other religious and philanthropic works? (referring to Bronzes)
4. The evidences, material and literary, are available till the 16th century and then are again found after a gap, in the 19th century. Does this mean that the Jains either left the region or lived a low life during the Portuguese rule and again started coming to light once the Britishers were here?
5. The Jains were and are a trading community. Is there a need to look at the entire data from Sopara and coastal region from a new angle because all these centers wouldn't have thrived without the traders! A wholistic study is required of the entire region.

Acknowledgements : There are a lot of people without which the work that we are doing would not have been possible. Firstly, we thank CEMS, Mumbai University and INSTUCEN Trust for giving us platform to present our work. Special thanks to the Agashi Jain Temple Trust and *Acalagaccha* Jain *Saṁgha* of Sopara for their cooperation and giving access to their premises for study. We are indebted to the *gurus* who have helped and guided us in our journey and will continue to shower their blessings - Jainācārya Yaśovarmasūri MS, Jain *Muni* Prashamrativijay MS (Devardhi), Prof. Arvind Jamkhedkar, Dr. Kurush Dalal, Dr. Abhijit Dandekar, Dr. Vaishali Velankar, Dr. Prachi Moghe, Dr. Suraj Pandit, and any other *guru*s who have helped us. We can't thank enough to *Muni* Tirthyasha MS and other *Muni*s who have worked day and night in collecting the data that we are working on. We need to thank Hiren Doshi, LD Institute of Indology for helping us with decipherment. Shri Kailashsagar Sūri Jain Gyaana Bhandara, Koba Library for the access to the rare Jains texts – without their cooperation we wouldn't have functioned. We need to acknowledge the support that Abhisheka Madhani has always been lending in all our conquests. We need to thank the most to the scholars who have worked before us and have laid the stones for us.

References :

1. Acharya Kshemkirti, VS 1332, *Vrutti on Bruhat Kalpasutra,* Vol. 3., pp. 917 – 921
2. Achayra Vijaypradyumnasuriji MS, VS 2064 Reprint/Translation of Pethadkumar Charitra, Orignal text by Ratna Mandan Gani.
3. Arunachalam : 2002, Indian Cartographer
4. Adinatha Neminath Upadhye. 1970. Acharya Jinavijay Muni. *Kuvalayamala*
5. Sircar D. C., January 1957, *Epigraphia India* Vol.XXXII. pp. 61-76
6. Jacobi H., (2005) Ācārya Vimalasūri's Paumacariyam. 2^{nd} ed. by rev. Muni Shri Punyavijayi, tr. into Hindi Prof. Shantilal M Vora. Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society
7. https://whatisindia.com/inscriptions/epigraphica_indica/vol32_1957-1958/sircar46.html accessed on 14-08-2019
8. https://www.girnardarshan.com/eng/vastupal-tejpal accessed on 15-08-2019
9. McKrindle J. W., 1885. Trubner and Co., London. *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*. pp. 38 - 42

10. Muni Sujashchandravijay MS, 2011. Munai Suyashchandravijay MS. August *Anusandhan* Vol. 56, p. 58.

11. Munigyaansundarvijay MS. 1944. *Bhagwan Parsvanath ki Parampara ka Itihasa – Upgesh Gachha Pattavali*

12. P. Munivishalvijayji MS, Published by P. Somachandrasuri MS. *Prachin Pratima Lekh Sangraha* (Collection of inscriptions), p. 76.

13. Gode P. K., 1953 Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. *Studies in Indian Literary History.*

14. P.Munishri Darshanvijayji MS, P. Munishri Gnyaanvijayji MS, P. Munishri Nyayavijayji MS, 2003, *Jain Parampara no Itihasa* (in gujarati), Vol. 2, pp. 1 -11, 26-33

15. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, 1882 Antiquarian Remains at Sopara and Padana – Being an account of the Buddhist Stupa and Asoka Edict recently being discovered at Sopara, Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

16. Printed first time from handwritten manuscript.

17. Shree Rasiklal Shantilal Mehta, 1992 Jain Book Depot, Ahmedabad. *Shree Shreepal Rajano Raas*. Original by Upadhyay Shree Vinayvinayji and Shree Yashovijayji. Page nos. – 215-220 (in Gujarati)

18. Shri Vastupal Charitra, 1917 Jinharsh Gani

19. The images belong to the authors (Monish Deepak Shah and Siddarth Kailas Kale). Some images are taken with persmission from Abhishek Madhani.

20. *Use of Imagery in Reconstruction of the Past - A Case Study of Sopara*

21. Godbole Vivekanand, 1979. Itihasa Sanshodhak Mandal, Kalyan. *Aadhya Shree Parshuramkshetra Nirmal Surpur* (in Marathi)

The authors of the paper would like to state that in case of some religious references, there is a possibility of some mistake and the authors would furbish with the accurate information as per their knowledge in the subsequent works that they do.

Subscription Rates for Journal

India: ₹ 300/-
Foreign Countries: $ 50

Subscription is always payable in advance. No subscription will be accepted for less than a year. Subscription fee is to be transferred in the account of the **Oriental Institute**, the details are:

Bank : **Bank of Baroda** (Current Account at Dandia Bazar Branch, Vadodara)
Account No. : 05780200000213
Branch Code : BARB0DANDIA (Fifth Character is Zero)
Swift Code : BARBINBBRM

THE APPLICABILITY OF CHANAKYA'S THOUGHTS IN TODAY'S POLITICS

Showkat Ahmad Dar*

Abstract: Chanakya is ranked alongside Machiavelli, Aristotle, and Pluto in Western history. *Arthaśāstra* and *Cāṇakya Nīti-śāstra* are reviewed as eloquent books on politics, welfare, military strategy, foreign policy, wealth development and moral orientation. Chanakya is almost mythical in the minds of modern Indians. Students are told stories about his wisdom and counsel in history classes. No study of the Mauryan Empire's rise and demise is complete without diving into Chanakya's brilliant plan and important position with the king. His book *Arthaśāstra*, a treatise on governance, military, and economic policy, bears witness to his brilliance. The purpose of this study is to examine the relevance and applicability of Chanakya's ideas in today's reality, with special reference to Indian politics. The study adopted a descriptive-comparative analytical method and relied on primary and secondary sources of data. The study is qualitative and uses thematic analysis to get an unbiased result.

Keywords: Chanakya, Corruption, Ethics, War, Economy and Rationality.

1. Introduction

People call politicians the Chanakya of their political parties these days. This is because of things like their ability to make policies and control power, among other things. Chanakya is often called the father of politics today, but is that true? If we look far back into history, we find that in the 3rd century BC, a helpless son had to flee from the place where he was born to an unknown arena miles away.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 193, Vol. 72, 2023, pp. 149-162.

* Department of Public Administration, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar-608002, Tamil Nadu, India, M: 6005211303 Email : darshowkat41@gmail.com, Orchid Id : 0000000224099493

Later, this son taught his disciple how to be the first king whose empire covered all of India. Chanakya is known as India's best politician, but not much is known about him. King Porus is the most well-known story that shows how smart Chanakya was. Chanakya used King Porus's help to beat Dhanananda in exchange for half of Dhanananda's kingdom. After the victory, Chanakya sends *viṣakanyās* to Porus's room under the pretence of making the king happy. Porus was killed by these maidens, which made a way for Chandragupta. Chanakya also tried different things to get Rākṣasa, one of Chandragupta's ministers, to join his side. He was the most intelligent person in the Mauryan Kingdom. After gaining power, Chanakya wrote the *Arthaśāstra* which lays out strict rules for how to run the government during times of peace, as well as a complex system for protecting the weak and oppressed (Chamola, S. D. 2007). *Cāṇakya Nīti* has a code of ethics that everyone should follow. People have called Chanakya the Machiavelli of India, but I think that's a Eurocentric way of thinking. We think that there are two things that show that Chanakya is much better than Machiavelli: first, Chanakya lived 1700 years before Machiavelli, and second, Chanakya's works on politics and statecraft are more complete. Chanakya's ideas are different from those of Machiavelli. Chanakya tells the king to ignore ethics only when at war or fighting enemies. Machiavelli, on the other hand, says that politics has no ethics and is only a way to get power. Chanakya was a good leader in politics. We can argue about the morality of what he did, but he built the first Indian empire, which brought peace and wealth to a very populated area (Liebig, M. 2013). Machiavelli's legacy is ruthless colonization, the slave trade, and the end of many different cultures. We agree that Chanakya used *Sāma, Dāma, Daṇḍa*, and *Bheda* to get his revenge, but that is not what he will be remembered for. Each side of a coin is different. His legacy is his two books, *Cāṇakya Nīti* and *Arthaśāstra* in which he talks about all aspects of government. People think that *Arthaśāstra* is an admission that politics can no longer be moral and must be fought in any way possible. We don't agree with this. We think the best thing to do is to take what is good and leave what is bad. The strategist is a product of his culture and time. Every plan has its own way. So, if we want to compare politicians today to Chanakya, we should focus on the good things he did. (Kumar, A. Ed. 2013).

2. Material and Methods

The methodology adopted in this study is analytical and Descriptive. Telephonic interview Email, social networks and Google form method was used for data collection especially from Student communities of India to reach on unbiased conclusion. Primary and Secondary data, both were used to study regarding the applicability of Chanakya's thoughts in today's world. The study is focused especially on male, female, rural, urban and college students from different streams -science, commerce, humanities and vocational. Secondary data culled from trustworthy sources such as books, websites, and newspaper stories, several Indian reports and several international journals and periodicals, was analyzed qualitatively through thematic analysis tool MAXQDA. (Castleberry, A., & Nolen, A. 2018)

3. Research Objectives

Some people held the opinion that Chanakya's ideas still applied to the political structure in use today. However, some disagree with this and claim that his ideas are irrelevant to contemporary politics. In order to draw a conclusion, the study makes an effort to address the query and finally accomplish its objective i.e. explain and analyze the application and significance of Chanakya's ideas in the modern world with special focus on Indian Politics.

4. Discussion and Result

The past is most valuable when used to improve the present and future. '*Arthaśāstra*' by Kautilya is a book on the political, economic, and administrative notions a king needs to fulfill his duties. Chanakya's 300 BC compilation on how to manage a successful regime still applies today. Strategic analysts can assess several of these issues for adoption by modern states for internal governance and foreign relations. Chanakya's first immutable precept is that a ruler must know his land and its surrounds (Halpern, G. M. 2001).

The government must establish information pathways and secure private data. Voice detection employing censor technology can now be done remotely, but that doesn't change the importance of being aware of adversary covert communication eavesdropping. Chanakya's philosophy of state administration emphasizes a ruler's political will, lack of personal vested interests, and ability to deliver strong governance while preserving a perfect balance between state management and the welfare of the people. Chanakya built India's first welfare state by saying "the king's happiness lies in his subjects' happiness." Even animals were incorporated, perhaps referencing India's large livestock resources. Chanakya observed, "The state's security rests on its residents' security," because an insecure person is vulnerable to outside forces. Chanakya also recognised that the king had to establish a competent administration and make the state prosperous, a fully contemporary notion of state governance. He saw the relationship between economy and security, proving that "national security is inseparable from economic security." (Shabbir, 2004). Chanakya knew the state's strength came from its soldiers. He proposed military training for all young people, or 'conscription'.

Chanakya's values are still significant in international affairs, and they give strength to policymakers. Both friends and adversaries' 'circles of contacts' interested him. Chanakya distinguishes "natural friends" from "potential allies" to attain 'balance of power' in politics. It played a crucial influence in international affairs throughout the Cold War and subsequently. According to Kautilya, Prime Minister Modi's foreign policy is in line with his worldview and serves India well. *Arthaśāstra* says 'Information Warfare' can influence both the targeted population and the enemy's mentality. Chanakya mentions the need to select people to distribute official information and function as propaganda vehicles during a fight. He valued the state and its political leaders. Chanakya said that when religious law and written law disagree, written law wins. *Arthaśāstra* places the state above religion, race, and regional allegiances, a legacy of India's democracy. Today's world is geopolitically divided between Communist dictatorships, Islamic fanaticism, and democratic democracies. To promote our national interests, India had to diplomatically handle the interplay between the West and Islamic radicals and Communism and democracy. This challenges Chanakya's desired "power balance" (Yadav, 2019).

Chanakya's theories may be applied to two more current epoch-making upheavals, but the state would need a fresh look and strategy. Post-Cold War, 'proxy conflicts' have replaced 'open' military attacks. Information warfare as it has evolved in response to cyberspace is included. Social media is a weapon of war and a tool of 'proxy politics' since it can sway enormous numbers of people. Chanakya believed in spreading messages to both the targeted population and the opposing side (Taman Bachani, 2020).

4.1 Taxes, Economy

Many of Chanakya's ideas regarding how to run an economy are still relevant today. He was pro-private-public partnership. Private firms could exist in nearly any market, with royal regulations and superintendents regulating them. Businesses were taxed. "Consumer is King" was one of the *Arthaśāstra's* economic priorities.

Chanakya's ideal tax system was "simple to pay, easy to calculate, economical to manage, equitable, non-distortive, and not restrict growth." That sounds like an old GST (Goods and Services Tax.) was designed to simplify taxation, as Chanakya envisioned his ideal tax system. In the Mauryan era, there were fewer markets, imports, and goods to buy than presently. A simple tax system would have worked then, but not with today's sophisticated products. (Dwivedi, P. 2019).

One of Chanakya's principles that we may apply to our economy now is taxing mature, developed companies and going easy on youthful, undeveloped sectors. Many MSMEs (Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises) become 'sick' and close due to high taxes costs. By letting these enterprises thrive, we assist the economy grow long-term, rather than snuffing out a promising business for taxation benefit. Grants and easy loans only help MSME get started, not stay in business (Clear IAS, 2017).

Chanakya believed a state should not tax agricultural land in times of famine, plague, new pasture settlement, or war damage. This ensures that farmers' heavy burden doesn't rise, providing them time to reestablish their agricultural techniques. Such a programme would cut farmer suicides tenfold.

Chanakya described economic power as the ability to influence other governments economically. It includes a country's industrial base, natural resources, capital, technology, geography, health system, and education system. Today's economic power is similar. Money controls a nation's power structures. They can impact mass-scale policy and decisions. India must gain this potential to influence global discussions on all matters. If India gains enough economic power, it will become a Permanent UN Member, which will benefit India and her people. India would no longer bow to larger nations' pressure. Money would move India from silent obligor to negotiator (UNC SCHOOL, 2019).

4.2 War: A Tool

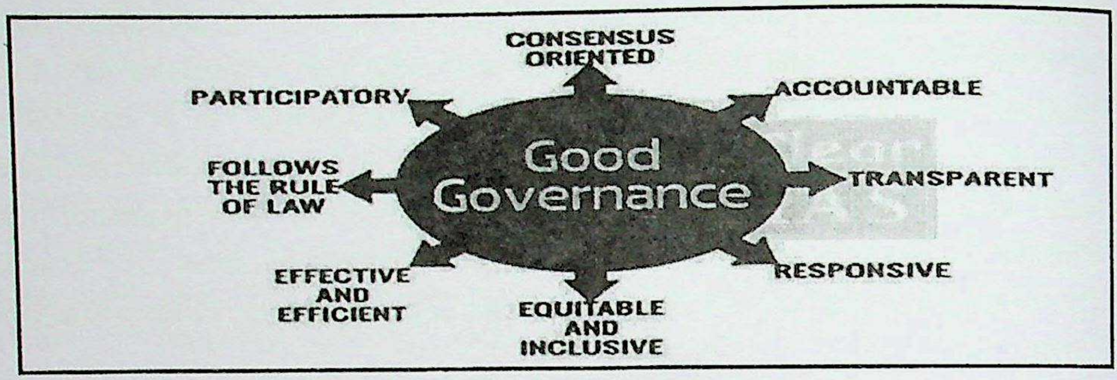
Chanakya believed a state's nature was war. *Arthaśāstra* divides battle into three types. Open war, covert/concealed war (guerilla war), and silent war exist (a continuous war within the kingdom itself to ensure that the king remains powerful). Modern economists and philosophers agree with Chanakya that conflict is tied to economy. War was often necessary to grow one's treasury and establish power. Chanakya thought a king must acquire wealth, spend liberally on his army and enhance it, and invade neighbouring lands to expand his realm. This doesn't mean he always supported war. Chanakya believed peace was better for the state's citizens since it promoted riches, prosperity, and security. This fits peacekeeping today. Despite global disputes, governments work to maintain peace. Most countries are still traumatized by World Wars I and II. Overall, peace is better. His immediate priority was defense. Even if a country doesn't wage war, its defense must be strong to fend off other kingdoms. This would legitimize India's high defence (Liebig, M. 2013) spending and help suppress unrest. Chanakya would undoubtedly favour AFSPA if he saw Kashmir today. Internal revolt and border protection were two ‘silent war' fronts. Chanakya explains in detail how to win a war. He details every war strategy needed to defend the country. The *Arthaśāstra* advocates "all-out battle." Nothing is off-limits. Assassinations, spying, are fostering strife among enemy leadership, and poisonous propaganda and rumors. In today's world, where the UN oversees such actions, these notions wouldn't fly. India is party to several accords and conventions; violating them (Dwivedi, P. 2019) would be bad. Chanakya would mock the UN's efforts to promote disarmament and bio weapons. He would undoubtedly agree of India not joining the Non-Proliferation Treaty, which limits a country's number and power of nuclear warheads. The *Arthaśāstra* advocates humane treatment of war prisoners and conquered people. In a moment of violence, a political advisor says this? During that time, most military prisoners were killed, and there were no uniform laws governing their treatment. The Geneva Convention sets ethical norms for all signatory countries. The Geneva Convention reduces war's barbarity and facilitates peacetime (Taman Bachani, 2020).

Some of Chanakya's war concepts were revolutionary, while others were a product of their time and couldn't be performed in today's globalised, hyper-connected, interdependent world. Physical war has ended. Cyber assaults and spyware are used instead. Chanakya wouldn't understand the gravity of these principles, and his approach to physical combat can't be applied to cyber conflict, which isn't traditional fighting. (Taman Bachani , 2020).

4.3 Chanakya Bounded rationality

It is the concept that one is limited by the information they possess and must adhere to this constraint by limiting themselves. It is important to go on adventures, challenge one's cognitive abilities, and search for solutions when one has an unlimited amount of time to make a decision. Kautilya came to understand the significance of efficient bureaucracy. Because a single wheel cannot propel a chariot, a king is unable to walk without the assistance of his subjects. The King is responsible for delineating the duties that are expected of the Ministers. A king is responsible for supervising and monitoring the work of all of their subordinates. A king is expected to hire advisors and advisers, and then pay attention to what they have to say. (Saha, A. 2020).

CHANKAYS BOUNDED RATIONALITY



Source: www.clearias.com

4.4 Chanakya's views on corruption and its solution

Corruption isn't new. It's been defined as abnormal human behavior motivated by private gain at public expense for millennia. Corruption promotes administrative illegality, unethicality, subjectivity, inequity, injustice, waste, inefficiency, and inconsistency. It erodes the average man's faith in the politico-administrative system. Several accounts mention ancient India's official corruption. Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* describes the threat in detail. This thorough treatise on statecraft is prescriptive or normative, suggesting what the state should be rather than what it was. Norms are only prescribed when deviations or irregularities occur. This proves that ancient India's corruption was severe enough to require expert advice. Kautilya lists 40 embezzlements. Kautilya proposed a sophisticated spy network for identifying money embezzlement and judicial wrongdoing. Such mechanisms have been set up in the major nations of the world in varied forms and structures. Spies were selected for their honesty and excellent conduct; today (Liebig, M. 2013) we have police, vigilance, Lokpal, ombudsman, etc. to tackle corruption. They were to monitor accountants and clerks for accounting fraud (*Avastara*). Kautilya's proposed imposing hefty fines and confiscating ill-gotten wealth upon successful embezzlement detection. If a functionary was charged and convicted of even one crime, he was responsible for all linked crimes. Since taxes are used for people's welfare, revenue loss undermines society's welfare. Kautilya maintained that fines should be proportional to work done, days taken, capital expended, and daily salaries paid. (Pillai, R. 2015).

Kautilya offered steps to prevent corruption. Each department would have temporary employees. Permanent jobs were to be awarded by the king to individuals who increased revenue rather than squandered it. Kautilya favored rotating government employees. This was done to prevent them from exploiting system flaws. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya reveals that the ancient system of governance and administration had modern anti-corruption standards. It shows corruption isn't a modern phenomenon. The menace's longevity speaks to its tenacity. Governments of all times have recognized its illegality and established legal measures to combat it, but they have failed to stop its expansion and social acceptance. Why haven't administrative systems eliminated corruption over the centuries? (INSIGHT IAS, 2020)

Was Kautilya's right in his generalization that 'humans are fickle-minded'? Fewer agree. Despite understanding human nature and behavior, Kautilya never exploited it to justify corruption. He acknowledged its inevitability but remained hopeful and resolved to rooting corruption out of the government with complex and severe efforts. This is the *Arthaśāstra's* genuine relevance to modern corruption (Dwivedi,P. 2019).

4.5 Chanakya's Code of ethics and it existence in today's Politics

Chanakya sought to create a materialistic-free society. He prioritised spirituality. Chanakya spoke about Equality for all, a feature of our constitution. He prioritised citizen security. He advocated agriculture as a state subject. He believed in women's rights and abolished their exploitation. He emphasised land as a resource and suggested maximizing its use. He well-managed annexed kingdoms and empires to maximize their resources. He was a strategist who balanced states and citizens. He wanted trade to expand, thus he imposed minimal taxes, which helped states and citizens. He sought to establish cities for internal and external trade. He encouraged forts to repel external assault (Banerjee, P. 2012).

Chanakya outlined ethical leadership principles and considered the leader as the nation's face. He's responsible for everything in the community and reflects society. The leader's goal is the people's wellbeing. Unjust conduct will lose a leader's followers' loyalty. A leader shouldn't promote *dharma,* favour the bad, or punish the innocent. No unnecessary spending. A moral leader shouldn't offend knowledgeable elders. He should hear all his people's important problems and not delay, as justice delayed is justice denied. (Banerjee P, 2012).

India's values crisis is expressed in a lack of concern for other humans, a culture of greed, and widespread corruption. Proper execution of national plans and programmes affects state operations. Without clean, effective, and unbiased administration, no strategy can succeed. In modern times, the gap between theory and practice, belief and action, contributes to public servant hypocrisy. Corruption and power abuse undermine the nation, say administration and politics. A trustworthy government is built on human values. Because superficial attempts can't affect people's attitude and conduct without instilling values.

Our national leaders knew this and emphasized human values. "National character is the bedrock of our public affairs, not isms. If Indian policy and administration are to thrive, a monsoon of national purity is needed. The monsoon comprises of raindrops falling together. Pure character can restore parched lands." Many legislative committees have underlined the necessity to instill values. If human values are cultivated during development, ethical action becomes natural, spontaneous, and nearly automatic. The State must encourage strong moral and ethical standards throughout society. This requires an all-encompassing approach, including educating children and young in schools and colleges, assuring the ethical conduct of public servants, including politicians, and fostering a climate of honesty and trust for business and industry to prosper.

The society combines moral norms into laws for the state to implement and dispense justice, gaining legitimacy and body politic allegiance. The Vice President said the legal and administrative efforts made so far to promote executive, legislative, and judicial ethics are inadequate and urged for a more intentional and result-oriented approach. If the country wants to thrive and develop, the public services must provide a good example. For public services to flourish, the state must create an ethical infrastructure. Most high-ranking industrialised countries have an efficient ethics infrastructure, including a Code of Values and Ethics for public officials, from which we might learn (Akrati Anjali, 2022).

5. Conclusion

For his period, Chanakya held some surprisingly radical viewpoints. Both the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Cāṇakya Nīti* contain pearls of knowledge that can still be relevant in the contemporary era. However, Chanakya has been gone for more than 2000 years. It is unlikely that all of his theories would hold true now. The volume, depth, and clarity of the limited amount that can be used in 2018 are impressive. Because of how outstanding Chanakya's philosophies were and not just because they were rediscovered, his concepts did not perish with him. They survived by word of mouth, and after being translated and published, they immediately became one of the most well-known books on economic and governmental affairs. The majestic image of Aśoka, the contrite Buddhist, mourner of Kalinga, and one of India's greatest emperors, undoubtedly contributed to much of the hoopla. However, it would be incorrect to suggest that Chanakya's views expanded because of the mystery surrounding Aśoka. The writings of Chanakya did, in fact, bring something worthwhile to our lives. People frequently credit his writings with helping them change their lives or adopt entirely new ways of thinking. Thus, Chanakya's influence is felt not only on a large scale but also on a very intimate level. His guidelines for living life and acting as a leader who deserves to lead have had a profoundly positive impact on people's lives at the most fundamental level. Therefore, Chanakya was a philosopher whose theories merit inclusion in contemporary Indian politics and society.

The *Arthaśāstra* offers a wealth of ideas, concepts, and approaches important in the art of governance, which increases Chanakya's relevance today. Like the lessons of several ancient Indian scriptures, many of the *Arthaśāstra's* most important messages are timeless. The best way to think about the future is to look back at the past while moving forward in the present. However, in a nutshell, it can be claimed that India can be proud of Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* as an antiquated repository of knowledge on statecraft, the ethics of leadership, and the useful methods for maintaining the security of the democratic state against external and internal dangers. Much of what it says still holds true in the modern world. Any statement you choose from the text *Cāṇakya Nīti* has survived the test of time and will do so forever since these are common experiences shared by people of all ideologies and nationalities. The stark honesty and cunning of Chanakya's teachings have drawn criticism, but it is impossible to honestly contest their veracity.

References

1. Adkins, L. C. J. D., & Tomlin, H. A. (1998) *Kautilya and Modern Day Strategic Advising,* SAGE Publications.
2. Anjali Akrati. (2022). "15 Life Lessons from Acharya Chanakya Niti". Www. Samacharlive.Com. https://www.samacharlive.com/12-life-lessons-from-acharya-chanakya-niti/ retrieved on 02 July 2022
3. Banerjee, P. (2012). Chanakya/Kautilya: History, philosophy, theater and the twentieth-century political History of the Present, 2(1), 24-51.
4. Bansal, S., & Chaudhri, S. (1998) *Chanakya: Computer-Aided Strategic* Reasoning. Harper Collins, pp.68-72
5. Chamola, S. D. (2007). *Kautilya Arthaśāstra and the science of management: Relevance for the contemporary society*", Hope India Publications. pp.55-65
6. Castleberry, A., & Nolen, A. (2018). Thematic analysis of qualitative research data: Is it as easy as it sounds?. Currents in pharmacy teaching and learning, 10(6), 807-815
7. Chati, C., Avalokitesvari, N. N. A. N., & Surpi, N. K. (2018). State Defense Diplomacy in Chanakya Viewpoint (Study of Arthaśāstra Text as a Basis Strategy of Defense Diplomacy)," *Vidyottama Sanatana: International Journal of Hindu Science and Religious Studies",* 2(2), 218-225.
8. Clear IAS. (2017). "Chanakya Neeti Practical Lessons of Ethics for Everyone " Www.Clearias.Com. https://www.clearias.com/chanakya-neeti/ retrieved on 10 June 2022.
9. Halpern, G. M. (2001). *The Arthaśāstra of Chanakya* , Hachette. pp.,102-109

10. INSIGHT IAS. (2020). "Ethics in Public Administration". Www.Insightsonindia.Com. https://www.insightsonindia.com/ethics-integrity and aptitude/ethics-in-public-administration retrieved on 6 April 2022.

11. Kumar, A. (Ed.). (2013). *Chanakya: The Kingmaker and the Philosopher.* Hachette UK. pp.105-122

12. Liebig, M. (2013). Kautilya's relevance for India today. *India Quarterly*, 69(2), 99-116.

13. Pallavi Dwivedi. (2019). "Chanakya and Modern Indian Government". Www .Thelabyrinthinmyhead.Wordpress.Com. https://thelabyrinthinmyhead.wordpress.com/2019/01/05/chanakya-and-modern-indian-government/ retrieved on 02 May 2022

14. Pandey, S. R.(2018) "Exploring Chanakya's relevance in modern economic spheres-with respect to his ideas on tax and the role of the state. *IJCRT journal* volume 6, issue 1 march 2018 | ISSN: 2320-2882 pp.391-394

15. Pillai, R. (2015). *Corporate Chanakya, —2021,* Jaico Publishing House.

16. Pillai, R., & Sivanandhan, D. (2014). *Chanakya's 7 Secrets of Leadership,* Jaico Publishing House, pp.98-106

17. Shabbir, S. H. A. H. A. B. (2004). *Kautilya on leadership: Lessons from Arthaśāstra,* Penguin Randon House.

18. Sharma, R. (2017) *Kautilya's Views on Governance and Corruption.* Simon & Schuster, pp.232-246

19. Sonwalkar, J., & Verma, S. P. 9 (2018) *Corporate Leadership from Chanakya*, Vikas Publishing House.

20. Saha, A. (2020). Decision making in Economics--a behavioral approach. arXiv preprint arXiv:2012.02968.

21. Subramanian, V. K. (1990). *Maxims of Chanakya.* Abhinav publications.

22. Taman Bachani. (2020). “Chanakya in Today’s World”. Www.New.Iimun.In. https://new.iimun.in/blog/others/chanakya-in-todays-world/ retrieved on 02 April 2022.

23. Tarun Kumar. (2012). “Corruption in Administration: Evaluating the Kautilya Antecedents”. Www.Idsa.In. https://idsa.in/issuebrief/CorruptioninAdministrationEvaluatingtheKautilyanAntecedents_121012 Retrieved on 13 May 2022.

24. UNC SCHOOL. (2019). “the Importance of Ethics in Public Administration”. Www.Onlinempa.Unc.Edu. https://onlinempa.unc.edu/blog/the-importance-of-ethics-in-public-administration/ retrieved on 07 April 2022.

25. Yadav, I. (2019) “Chanakya's Arthaśāstra and its perceptions on today’s organizational management”. *Pramana research journal* volume 9, issue 9, 2019 ISSN no: 2249-2976, PP.42-51.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY IN ANCIENT SOUTH-EASTERN BENGAL (C. SEVENTH-THIRTEEN CENTURIES CE): A PRELIMINARY STUDY

Suhas Chand Kapur*

Abstract

> "Art and Religion are, then, two roads by which men escape from circumstance to ecstasy."
>
> -- Clive Bell, an Art critic.

It is indeed a realistic expression in the study of each religious sect in the world. As we know that the fundamental manifestation of every religions are in the forms of theology (philosophical principles) firstly as well as rituals later on. The development of iconography is in the part of second one to build an easier communication between the God and the devotees in a medium of worshiping. In the case study of ancient south-eastern Bengal, i.e. Samataṭa and Harikela we may come across with an observation that Buddhism was immensely encouraged and patronized by various independent and semi-independent Buddhist and non-Buddhist rulers. As a result of it, the innumerable extraordinary and anomalous iconographic development of Lord Buddha, i.e. *Avalokiteśvara, Amitābha, Akṣobhya* etc. took place in the various moulds of art and sculptures like stone images, cast images and terracotta images. Now, regarding the development of those impressive figures few questions are raised- what was/were the purpose behind the making of images? Who were the artisans, residing in local or abroad? Were they enjoyed any royal patronage or institutional supports to channelize their cognitive energy? Was there any influence of regional variations or made them within localise or indigenous compasses (ambits)? Henceforth, all these investigations are needed to be addressed in the present paper gracefully.

Keywords: South-eastern Bengal, Buddhism, Patronage, Iconography.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 193, Vol. 72, pp. 163-180

* Raniganj Girls' College, Paschim Barddhaman, West Bengal, 713358, M: 8641859467, E-mail: suhaskapur2@gmail.com

Main Text

Undivided Bengal (presently West Bengal and Bangladesh) was a stronghold in the flourishing of Buddhism in early medieval times. The reflection of flourishment was seen either in the architectural development, i.e. *Vihāras* or in the manifestation of multiple Buddhist gods or goddess. The practice of different Buddhist doctrines (Niharranjan 1420 B.S., 520-32) like the Mahāyāna, Vajrayāna, Kālacakyayāna, Sahajayāna were also responsible for the metamorphosis of Buddhism in the different regions of Bengal. Moreover, the patronage of royal powers like the Pālas in South-west Bengal or the numerous ruling dynasties (Chowdhuri 1967) like the Khaḍga, the early Devas, and the later Devas in south-eastern parts of Bengal played a prudent role in the maturing of Buddhism. The reasons of the royal patronage towards Buddhism were manifolds, but the aesthetic philosophical attitudes of Buddhism were attested through the development of multiple forms of Buddhist iconography by the process of osmosis with local elements which is vividly observed in the context of ancient South-eastern Bengal, known as Samataṭa and Harikela in early times. Henceforth, the objective of the present paper is to throw a light on the development of the Buddhist iconography in early South-eastern Bengal from c. seventh to c. thirteen centuries CE.

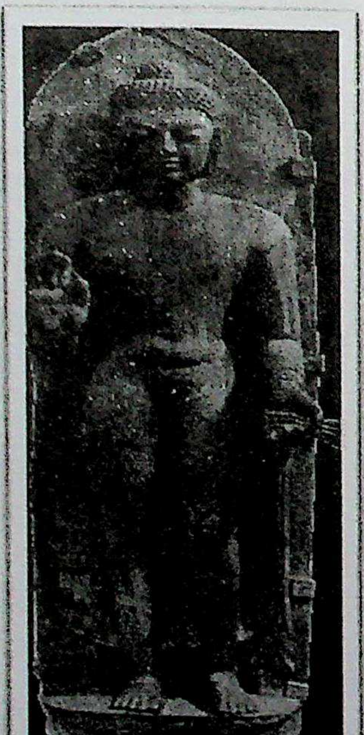
Bengal had its own regional characteristics from its time of antiquities. Bengal, as a region, was constituted by several sub-regions like Puṇḍravardhana, Rāḍha, Vaṅga and Samataṭa-Harikela. According to Barrie M. Morrison, (Morrison 1980, 115) all the property transfers took place in these four regions/units of political and cultural centres and never ruled under any power in the pre- 1200 AD times. The present paper is highlighting on the geo-spatial space of early South-eastern Bengal, i.e. Samataṭa-Harikela sub regions, presently in modern Bangladesh. It is not possible to make any water tight distinguishing mark between Samataṭa and Harikela because in different periods of time their contours overlapped and sometime one territory subsumed the other. It is generally considered that Comilla-Noakhali region was the core territory of Samataṭa whereas Harikela was the coastal part of Chittagong (Ghosh & Pal 2006, 78-96; Shariful 2014, 3). Thus, the Trans-Meghna region consists of the present area of Comilla, Noakhali, Chittagong and Tripura, known as Samataṭa-Harikela sub-regions in early history of Bengal.

The growth and development of Buddhism in early South-eastern Bengal, i.e. Samataṭa and Harikela was closely associated with the development of Buddhist iconography relating to gods and goddess. The patronage of royal authorities (the rulers or kings, royal relatives, subordinate rulers or officials) directly or indirectly supported the practice of Buddhism in that region by donating the land grants to the religious institutions (Ghosh 2010, 109-118). Moreover, the influence of tāntric rites and rituals manipulated Buddhism to establish a separate platform of worshipping of tāntric Buddhist pantheons like Vajrasattva, Heruka, Mañjuvāra, Mārīchi etc. in Samataṭa-Harikela sub regions. It is interesting to note that the Buddhist images that were coming out from the excavations of different *Vihāra*s (Śālban *Vihāra*, Rupbān Murā *Vihāra*, Ānanda *Vihāra* etc.), both in stone and terracotta plaque, reflecting the Gupta idiom of art like flimsy dress, hair style etc. along with the amalgamation of regional traditions introduced by the local artisans and craftsmen who enjoyed the institutional support in Comilla-Noakhali-Chittagong region. Thus, B. M. Morrison (Morrison 1980, 86) rightly assumed that ancient South-eastern Bengal, i.e. Samataṭa and Harikela as a distinctive cultural identity during early Medieval period. N. K. Bhattasali (Bhattasali 1983, 349-61) further argued that art activities in South-Eastern Bengal gathered momentum and start gaining definite character from around c. seventh century CE. The archaeological remains of Maināmati-Lālamāi regions attest the statement strongly where the different images of Lord Buddha depicted in terracotta plaques, stones, bronze, and wood carving in various stylistic postures. The making of images of Buddha or the artistic traditions of South-eastern Bengal can be traced in understanding of following two distinctive lines (Sengupta 1985, 43) – one, the influence of Eastern Indian art and secondly, the indigenous or local tradition of art. So, it would be very easy to understand for us in tracing of the Buddhist images in early South-eastern Bengal if we categorize it into three segments-

(a) Stone image. (b) Cast image. (c) Terracotta image.

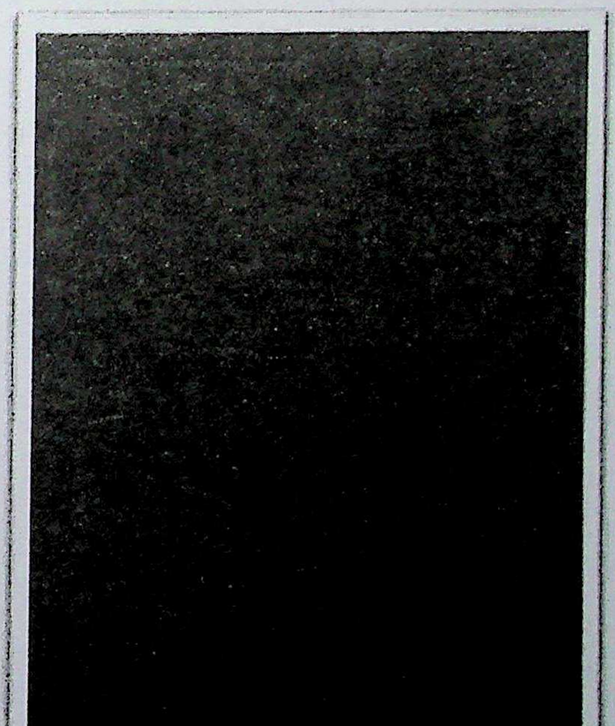
The stone images of Buddha

South-Eastern Bengal has a great legacy of stone sculptures in the context of Buddhism from the time of antiquities. Large and small Buddhist images are unearthed and available with a divine nature of compassion and generosity in the Maināmati-Lālamāi hill region. The artistic features are considered with smooth smile, slightly closed eyes, smooth gestures through the process of stylistic developments. Thus, Prof. Gautam Sengupta (1994, 125) rightly remarks, 'Apart from the redefining the Gupta idiom, the artists of South Eastern Bengal, especially those active at Maināmati-Lālamāi complex, closely emulated the late 5th century Sārnāth Buddhas and their derivatives in Eastern India.' His statement was supported from the evidence of a 2.44 m high Buddha image in sandstone, recovered from a cell at Rupbān Murā *Vihāra*, which carries the artist's ability to translate, Sārnāth archetype in local medium. On the basis of artistic and stylistic consideration this sculpture indicates of early c. seventh century CE. (Suchandra 2016, 43).



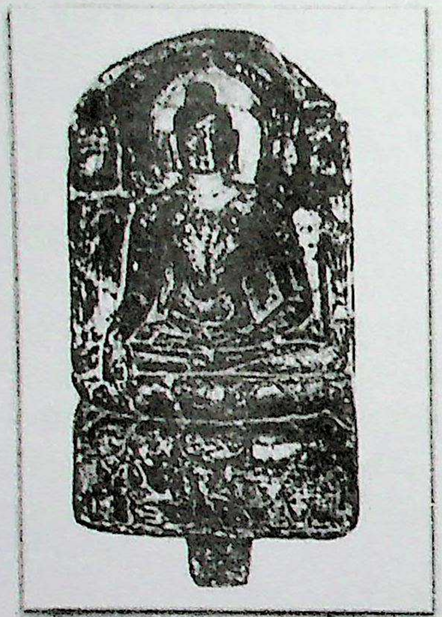
Buddha from Rupbān Murā , c. 7th century CE

With the establishment of the Buddhist monastic complex there was also culminated a prolific artistic activity to cater to the demands of the devotees in South-eastern Bengal. As a result, a large numbers of stone sculptures had been produced in different monasteries in Maināmati-Lālamāi region. From the site at Kutilā Murā two stone plaques were discovered from the deep shaft of the central *stūpa*, which carried out a distinctive form of iconographic tradition of the region. The scene which depicted in the plaque is purely related with the Mahāyāna tradition of Buddhism and the central position of god is a Mahāyānist pantheon. In a relief Buddha in a posture of *vyākhānamudrā* is sited on the principal lotus. There were other eight lotuses accompanying the subsidiary figures. In the other plaque, unlike the previous one, in the compositional pattern Avalokiteśvara is depicted with four armed, seated on the principal lotus with attendants of the deity on the smaller lotuses. *Avalokiteśvara* is distinguished by *Jatābhāra* and a three-quarter profile view of the face. Thus, Prof. Sengupta (1994, 125) rightly opines- "...in the compositions are the elaborate and innovative treatment of the base and a sense of volume attached to the figures."



Picture of *Avalokiteśvara* from Kutilā Murā *Vihāra*

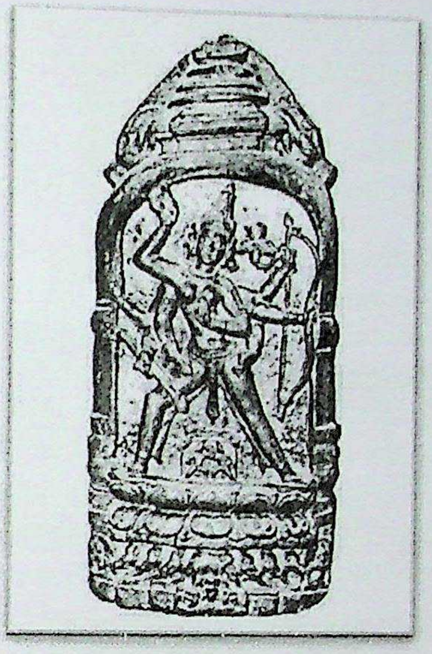
From the excavation at Bhoja *Vihāra*, two medium size soft grey shale plaques delineating *Akṣobhya* (Enamul & Adalbert 2008, 280) in *bhūmisparśamudrā* and *Amitābha* (Abu 2000, 102) in meditation pose were found.



Akṣobhya from Bhoja *Vihāra*

Amitābha from Bhoja *Vihāra*

There is no such evidence of stone sculpture at Śālban *Vihāra* because of its physiographic features, means locally no stone is available. But, from the smaller number of objects it is easy to understand that the stone sculpture at this site had a characteristic of its own. An image of Mārīchi (Enamul & Adalbert 2008, 282) at the Śālban *Vihāra* was found with the characteristics of the stunted heaviness of form fully opened bulging eyes, heavy lips and breasts.



Mārīchi from Śālban *Vihāra*

Thus, Dr. Anusua Sengupta (1993, 93) comments with an observatory conclusion on the stone images at Śālban *Vihāra* in the following ways-

1. The figures are shorter in form and stunted in appearance.
2. They are heavier in proportion.
3. Though they are made according to respective canons, yet we find in them the graceful forms of the figures with heavy round breasts had wide open eyes suggestion human sensibilities.

The cast image of Buddha

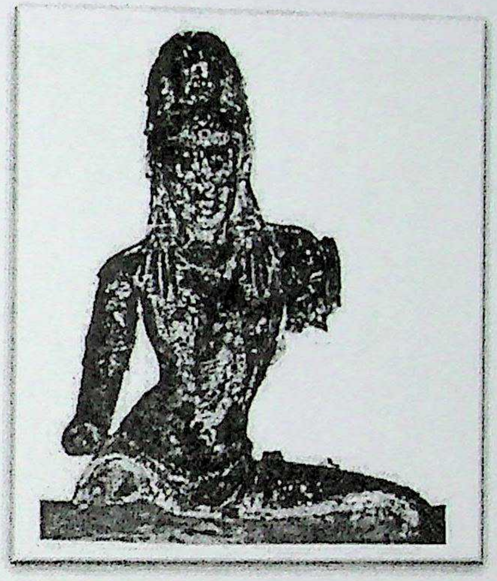
The large numbers of bronze images, discovering at various monasteries in ancient South-eastern Bengal indicates the development of metal sculpture in early times. Various images of Bodhisattvas like *Avalokiteśvara,* Mañjuśrī or Tārā in Mahāyānist Buddhism and five *Dhyāni* Buddhas (*Akṣobhya* and *Amitābha*) have been recovered in the site and region of Maināmati in South-eastern Bengal. The discovery of a human size bronze of Vajrasattva with decorative ornaments from the Bhoja *Vihāra* is also great part of our attention.

All the metal images of the Mahāyānist or Tāntric Buddhist pantheon indicates that within the time of c. seventh to thirteen century CE the transformation of the popular religion took place from Mahāyāna to Tāntric and ultimately to polytheism in which Buddhism became inextricably linked with Brahmanical and aboriginal form as stated by Prof. Suchandra Ghosh. (Ghosh 2016, 44).

The earliest metal images discovered in the Maināmati-Lālamāi region dated back to the c. seventh-eighth century CE. From then, in course of time this region became a major position as cultural, political, religious and art-historical centre to influence the casting metallurgy in and outside of India. The most interesting specimen of bronze sculpture has been found at Śālban *Vihāra*. Here, Mañjuśrī (Sengupta 1993, 93) is seated in a posture of *mahārājalīlā* on an elevated pedestal with a rectangular base. The main deity is seated on a central lotus and supported by a number of human figures at the sides. The right hand of the deity is placed on the upraised right knee having with an easy attitude.

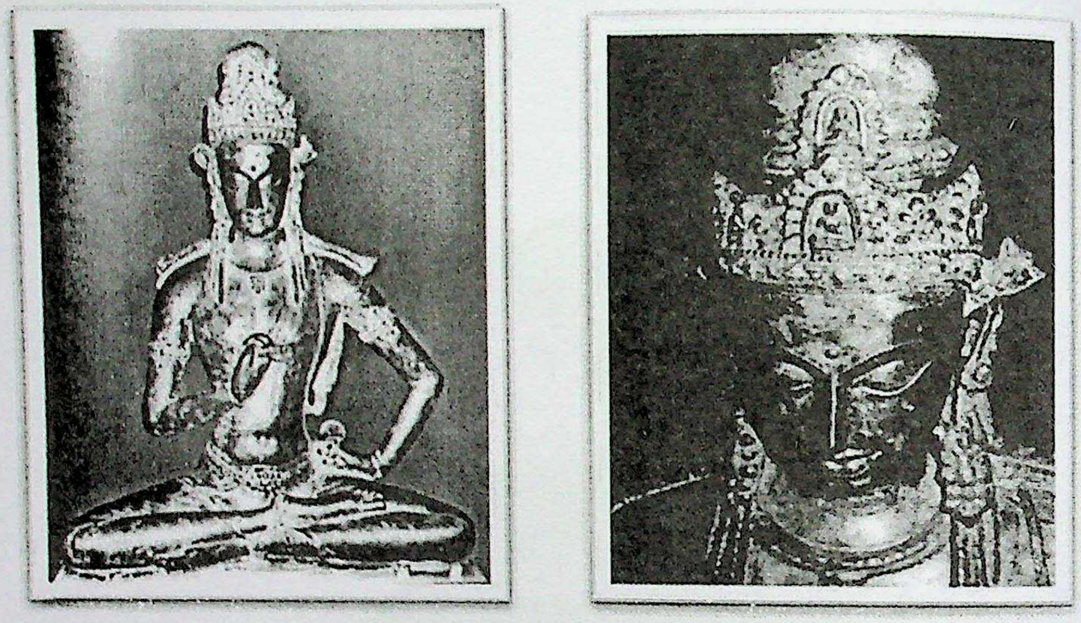
Bronze sculpture of Mañjuśrī

Another bronze sculpture representing *Avalokiteśvara* (Enamal & Adalbert 2008, 279) found from the site of the Ānanda *Vihāra*. Here, the surviving part of the metal sculpture shows the torso of *Avalokiteśvara* who is seated probably in a position of *ardhaparyaṅkāsana*, wearing a diadem, jewellery and an *upavīta*. The Transcendent Buddha *Amitābha* is illustrated in his hairstyle. Unfortunately, the sculpture is seriously damaged.



Avalokiteśvara in *lalitāsana* from Ānanda *Vihāra*

With the practice of Mahāyāna Buddhism and later on, spreading of Tāntric Buddhism innumerable Buddhist pantheons come into the light in early South-eastern Bengal. A colossal bronze image of Vajrasattva, (*Ibid* 278) facing in the eastern direction found at the Bhoja *Vihāra* and a separate shrine might be dedicated to him to worship in the monastic complex. The bronze sculpture is seated in *vajrāsana* on a flat cushion holding the *viśva-vajra* in his right hand and the *vajra-ghaṇṭa* in the left hand. He is bejewelled with long hair, wearinga diadem with the Five Transcendent Buddhas (*Akṣobhya, Amitābha, Ratnasambhava, Amoghasiddhi* and *Vairocana*) and an *upavīta*. According to Prof. Suchandra Ghosh, (Ghosh 2016, 45) this sculpture may be dated to the ninth or early tenth century CE when the Chandra dynasty ruled over the Maināmati region. No donatives inscription has been found on this metal sculpture. Thus, it may be donated by individually or collectively. This metal image of Vajrasattva is considered as the largest seated bronze image from the Indian subcontinent.



Bronze *Vajrasattva* from Bhoja *Vihāra* (c. 9th-10th century CE)

Another image of *Avalokiteśvara* (*Ibid*) is preserver in the Maināmati museum. It is a production of human size bronze image, culminated probably in the ninth or early tenth century CE in the Maināmati hills, a period when the Chandra's were the paramount power in the South-eastern Bengal. The sculpture displays the feeling of compassion with a meditative surface and light smile. The eyes show in the classical form of lotus petal with the thick lips. These are distinct impressions of Bodhisattva, *Avalokiteśvara*. Its identification is based on the miniature figure of *Amitābha* on his ornamented crown.

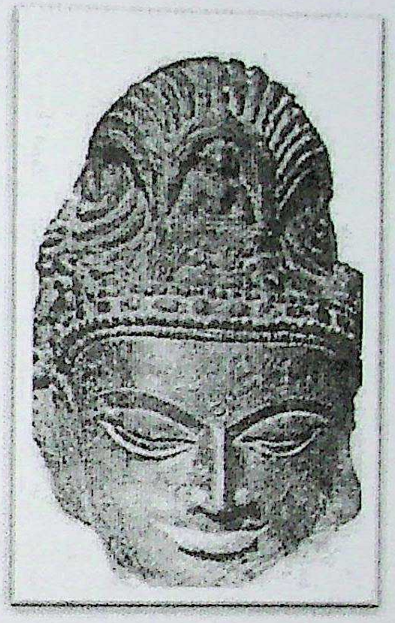
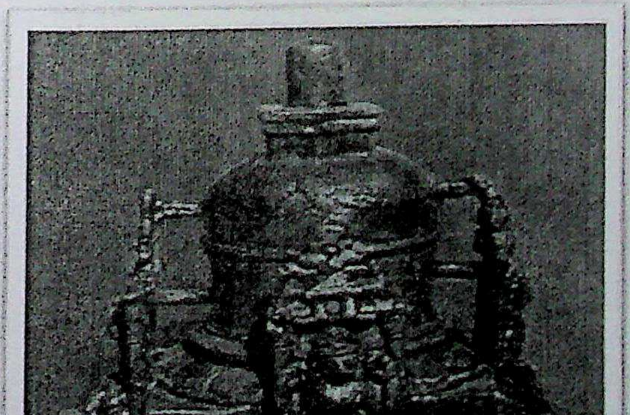


Image of *Avalokiteśvara* around 9th-10th century CE

A remarkable bronze votive *stūpa* (Claudine 2007, 99-109) was discovered at the site of Śālban *Vihāra* in the Maināmati-Lālamāi hills with four female deities on four sides, each seated under a shrine and placed against the drum of the *stūpa*. Probably, the rulers of the Chandra dynasty patronized the casting images of bronze sculpture immensely around c. 9th-10th century CE in the Maināmati region and its surrounding areas.

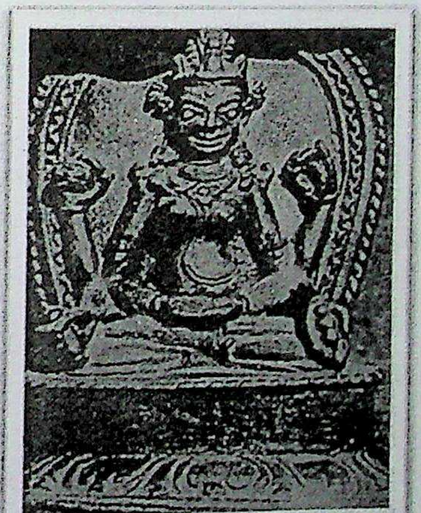


Bronze votive *stūpa* from Śālban *Vihāra*

Beside Maināmati-Lālamāi region, another group of cast images have been recovered at Jhewari in Chittagong district, known as Jhewari Buddha (Debala 1982). The discovery Jhewari bronze figures indicate that the Buddhism was prevalent in Chittagong area probably between c. ninth to thirteen centuries CE. The Jhewari images represent Buddha and *Bodhisattvas* like *Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Vasudhara* etc. in a standing posture of *abhāya-mudrā*, seating position in *dhyāna* or *vyākhyānamudrā*, in *vajrāsana*. Most of the figures are between 3.75 cm to 5.02cm in height. They seated usually on simple rectangular lotus pedestal with a meeting of Sārnāth or Nālandā artistic tradition like raised bow shaped eye-brows, sharp chin, broad face etc. and a local sense like open eyes, broader shoulder, narrow wrist, meditative smile etc. Thus, Prof. Gautam Sengupta (Sengupta 1994, 128) categorizes total Jhewari bronzes into three distinct stylistic groups - (a) some of the bronzes closely associate with Nālandā or the Pāla idiom, (b) some relate to Maināmati idiom, (c) few features in Burmese style. Some image of Buddha seated on a cushion without any back slate or any pedestal indicates the features which are also noticed in the bronze sculptures of Burma. Six of the Jhewari images bear undated votive inscriptions, palaeographic ally assigned to a period between the middle of the ninth and tenth century CE.

Avalokiteśvara from Jhewari, Chittagong

Another popular goddess in the Buddhist pantheon is Chuṇḍā (Sircar 1978, 111-14) in Chittagong region in ancient time. It is evident from the Maināmati copper plate inscription of Raṇavaṅkamalla Harikelādeva, (Bhattacharyya 1933, 282-89), dated *Śaka* 1141 (i.e. c. 1220 CE) mentioned of a Buddhist institution dedicated to the goddess Durgottara, a form of Tārā in the city of Paṭṭikeraka. Etymologically the word '*Chuṇḍā*' has been derived from the Sanskrit *Chaṇḍī- Chuṇḍā*, the Durgā. The goddess Chuṇḍā is also evident from the literary work, *Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript in c. eleventh century CE. This manuscript bears the miniature of Chuṇḍā with a line, '*Paṭṭikere Chuṇḍā Varabhavana Chuṇḍā*'. This line indicates that the goddess Chuṇḍā was very popular and worshipped in a temple at Paṭṭikera region in Comilla district. This image of goddess is highly ornamented and having six arms. The same goddess is also endowed with twelve, eighteen, even twenty six hands. All these show the popularity of goddess Chuṇḍā in Chittagong region.



Chuṇḍā from Chittagong

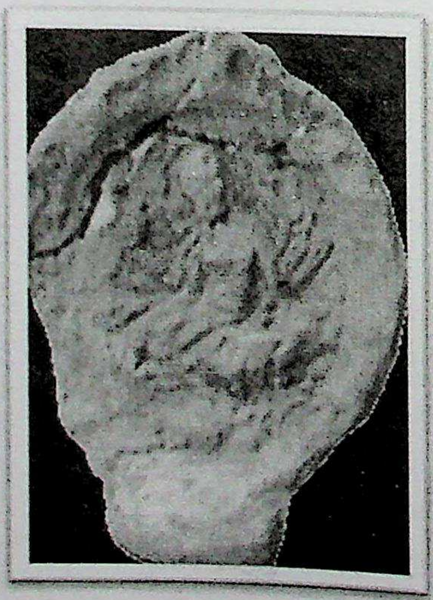
Unlike stone images, the composition of Maināmati bronze images a particular local characteristic features. The reason behind this may be the abundance freedom of the local artisan and craftsmen with the patronage of the state power. Mostly the Mahāyānist and Tāntric gods and goddess were represented in bronze sculptures. In the reason of ample supply of bronze, Prof. Sengupta (Sengupta 1994, 131) suggests that the bronze were from the neighbouring regions and distant countries, helped the itinerant group of artisans to produce cast images at

Maināmati. Thus, the following artistic practices developed in the Maināmati-Lālamāi range through the strong establishment of Buddhist community and royal patronage c. eighth century CE onwards and still continued up to c. twelfth or thirteen century CE.

The terracotta image of Buddha

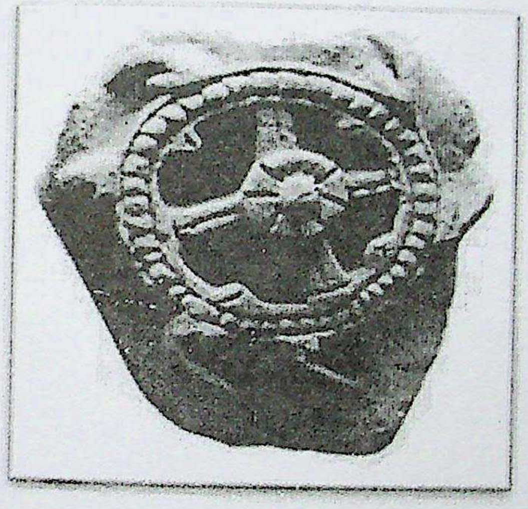
When stone and bronze were imported from neighbouring countries for constructing the images, but the soil of the Maināmati-Lālamāi region was available for the representation and ornamentation of the Buddhist deities in the monastic complex. The terracotta plaques also represented other religions like Brahmanism, Jainism as well as the daily life of common people in South-eastern Bengal.

The Bodhisattva images and Buddhist symbols are depicted on the terracotta plaques in the areas of Samataṭa and Harikela. The excavation at the Śālban *Vihāra* brings out unbaked clay tablet depicting the image of Tārā (Ghosh 1994, 131) with eight hands. That terracotta image of Tārā is related probably with the Buddhist goddess, Chuṇḍā in Chittagong region.

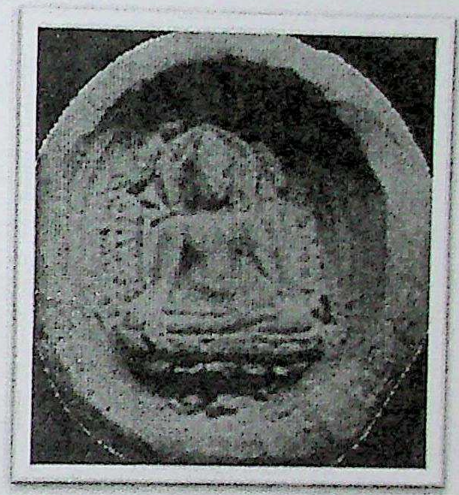


Unbaked clay tablet depicting Tārā or Chuṇḍā from Śālban *Vihāra*

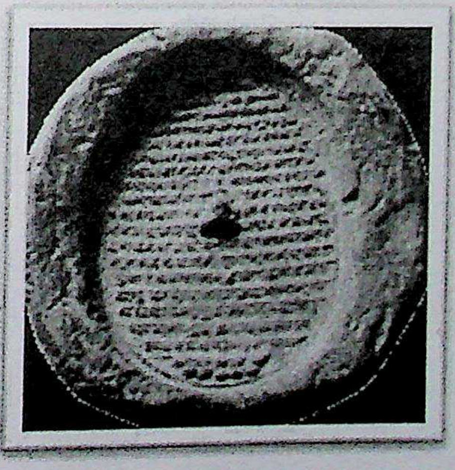
The Buddhist symbol, *Dharma-chakra* (Ahmed, Bulbul, Hasan, Amiruzzaman, Rahman, Alam 2015, 96) is clearly depicted in another terracotta plaque of ancient South-eastern Bengal. In the excavation time at Ānanda *Vihāra*, another image of Bodhisattva, Akṣobhya (*Ibid* 91) in *bhūmiśparsāmudrā* is represented in a terracotta seal. The Buddhist symbol, lotus also depicted in a terracotta plaque at Ānanda *Vihāra*. At the site of Kutilā Murā, the Buddhist creed is reflected in a terracotta seals and a symbolic votive *stūpa* (Abu 2000, 52-53) is in the middle of the seal.



Terracotta plaque depicting
Dharma-chakra from Śālban *Vihāra*



Terracotta sealing depicting
Akṣobhya from Ānanda *Vihāra*



Terracotta sealing depicting a votive *stūpa* and Buddhist creed from Kutilā Murā

There are ample evidences of Buddhist images and Buddhist symbols in the terracotta seals and plaques in early South-eastern Bengal at Maināmati-Lālamāi region. The reasons in the practice of making terracotta plaques may be for the practice of individual worshipping of the laity or the sign of a good luck or the decoration of the monastic complex. So, whatever it is thus indicates that Buddhism was a much popular religion at the Maināmati-Lālamāi region and immensely practiced by common people in ancient South-eastern Bengal around c. seventh to thirteen century CE.

So, lastly we may conclude the discussion by coming in the point that the Buddhist art and architectural development in early South-eastern Bengal took place as a result of association of three individuals- the donors and the lay society means the followers, the religious monks who resides at monasteries having with iconographic knowledge and the artisan and craftsmen who finally shaped the different images of Lord Buddha with aesthetic qualities. It is highly noticeable of the regional or local elements in the characteristics of the Buddhist art tradition of Samataṭa and Harikela sub-regions. It is further stated to that there was no any watertight distinction between the local and supra-local elements of artistic development because of the long process of osmosis or assimilation in the artistic practices. Whatsoever, the prolific Buddhist stone, bronze and terracotta images, discussed in the present paper, indicate that Buddhism was much popular religion and impressively dominated the socio-cultural field of Samataṭa and Harikela sub-regions and hold a significant position in the religious landscape of ancient South-eastern Bengal as well as South-East Asia from c. seventh century to thirteen century CE.

References

1. Ahmed, Bulbul, Mohammad Abu Al Hasan, Md. Amiruzzaman, Md. Ataur Rahman, Khandokar Mahfuz Alam 2015, 'Ancient Sites and Settlements' in *Buddhist Heritage of Bangladesh*, Dhaka: Nymphea Publication.
2. Bautze-Picron Claudine 2007. 'The Sculpture of Bengal, a stylistic History from the 2nd c. BC till the 12th c. AD', in *Fine Arts and Crafts*, Volume of the 'Cultural Survey of Bangladesh Project', Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh.

3. Bhattacharyya D.C. 1933. 'The Mainămati Copper plate of Raṇavaṅkamalla Harikelādeva', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX, Delhi: Caxton Publications.

4. Bhattasali N. K. 1983. 'Some Image Inscriptions from East Bengal', *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII (1923-24), New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.

5. Chowdhuri A. M. 1967. *Dynastic History of Bengal*, Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Pakistan.

6. Ghosh Suchandra 2010. 'Nature of Royal Patronage in South-eastern Bengal', *Journal of Bengal Art*, Vol. 13-14. Dhaka.

7. Ghosh Suchandra and Pal Sayantani 2006. 'Political Geography and Locational Importance of Samatata-Harikela Region' in *History-Culture & Coinage of Samatata & Harikela*, Tripura: Raj-Kusum Prakasani, 78-96; Islam Shariful 2014, *New Light on the History of Ancient South-East Bengal*, Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh.

8. Ghosh Suchandra 2016. 'Mainamati: An Enigmatic Centre of Buddhism in Southeastern Bangladesh' in *Nalanda, Srivijaya and Beyond: Re-exploring Buddhist Art in Asia*, Singapore: Asian Civilizations Museum.

9. Ghosh Suchandra 2015. *Exploring Connectivity Southeastern Bengal and Beyond*, Kolkata: Institute of Social and Cultural Studies.

10. Haque Enamul & Gail Adalbert J. (eds.) 2008. *Sculptures in Bangladesh*, Dhaka: The International Centre for Study of Bengal Art.

11. Imam Abu 2000. *Excavation at Mainamati: An Exploratory Study*, Dhaka: Studies in Bengal Art, 102.

12. Mitra Debala 1982. *Bronzes from Bangladesh*, New Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan.

13. Morrison B.M. 1980. *Political Centers and Cultural Regions in Early Bengal*, Jaipur-Delhi (reprint): Rawat Publications.

14. Roy Niharranjan 1420 B.S. *Bangalir Itihas (AdiParva)* (8th edition)), Kolkata: Dey's Publications.

15. Sengupta Anusua 1993. *Buddhist Art of Bengal*, Kolkata: Rahul Publishing House.

16. Sengupta Gautam 1985. 'Early Mediaeval Sculpture of Tripura' in *Proceedings of North Eastern India History Association* (Sixth session), Agartala: CUPG College.

17. Sengupta Gautam 1994. 'Art of South-Eastern Bengal: An Overview', *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. XIX, Part 1-2, Calcutta: Calcutta University Publications.

18. Sircar D. C. 1978. 'Inscription on the Bronze Images from Jhewari', *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. X, Calcutta: Calcutta University Publications.

IN SEARCH OF A LITERARY TRADITION IN EARLY MEDIEVAL BENGAL IN THE LIGHT OF SOME PĀLA INSCRIPTIONS (9^{th}-12^{th} CENTURY CE)

Priyankara Chakraborty*

Abstract: This paper attempts to explore the rise and development of a literary tradition in early medieval Bengal in the light of some Pāla inscriptions. Bengal witnessed the establishment of strong dynasties like the Pālas from the second half of the eighth century to the end of the eleventh century CE. The impact of their monopolization of state control was clearly felt in the compositional aspect of the land charters which begin to project a more elongated and enriched literary style from the late eighth- early ninth centuries onward. Apart from the royal endowments, there are also examples of land grants by subordinate rulers who arose during this period. Not only the land charters, various dedicatory and donative inscriptions are also found which were carved on stones, statues or temples by either a subordinate ruler or some religious and influential person. The richly ornate language, full of comparative analogies, similes and metaphors structured in melodious words in the eulogies evolved with distinctive regional character which is evident from the Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapāla, Badal Rock Pillar Inscription of Guravamiśra, Bhāturia inscription of Yaśodāsa and so on. Besides the royal eulogies, there were some *praśastis* that were also dedicated to various personalities such as feudal lords, subordinate rulers, Brahmin advisors, or other religious personages who were politically associated with the Pāla administration. The composition of the inscriptions reveals a varied and distinguished literary creativity including a few excellent examples. Along with this, taking examples from the variegated Sanskrit literature, a number of works composed by the learned preceptors during this phase may be reviewed illuminating the textual cultural scene of the region.

Key Words: Literary tradition, Inscriptions, Pāla dynasty, literary style, Efflorescence.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 193, 2023, Vol. 72, pp. 181-199.

* 41/1C, Raja Rammohan Roy Road, Dehala Kolkata-700008, M: 9830292541, E-mail: prim.stylegmail.com

This paper attempts to explore the rise and development of a literary tradition in early medieval Bengal in the light of some Pāla inscriptions. Bengal witnessed the establishment of strong dynasties like the Pālas from the second half of the eighth century to the end of the eleventh century CE. They had originated from Varendra, extended their dominion to Rāḍha and then to eastern Bihar. The impact of their monopolization of state control over the society was clearly felt in the compositional aspect of the royal charters related to land transactions, an important element of the state authority. They were also important for reflecting an elongated and enriched literary style from the late eighth- early ninth centuries onward. Apart from the royal endowments, there are also examples of land grants by subordinate rulers who arose during this period. Not only the land charters, various dedicatory and donative inscriptions are also found which were carved on stones, statues or temples by either a subordinate ruler or some religious and influential person. Following the pan-Indian literary trend of alaṁkāraśāstra, the richly ornate language, full of comparative analogies, similes and metaphors structured in melodious words in the eulogies of these inscribed words evolved with a distinctive regional character which is evident from the Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapāla, Badal Rock Pillar Inscription of Guravamiśra, Bhaturia inscription of Yaśodāsa and so on. The composition of the inscriptions reveals a varied and distinguished literary creativity including a few excellent examples. Along with this, taking examples from the variegated Sanskrit literature, a number of works composed by the learned preceptors during this phase may be reviewed illuminating the textual cultural scene of the region. For example, Sandhyākaranandi's *Rāmacarita* (c. 11th-12th century C.E.), *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* complied by Vidyākara (c.11th-12th century), *Kṛṣiparāśara* (mid11th century) etc.

Some previous scholars' work on this phase's literary culture can be mentioned in this context. For example, the literary style of this phase has been illumined through some significant Sanskrit literature like Sandhyākaranandi's *Rāmacarita*, *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* etc. Scholarly works on these kinds of literature help us to frame the structure of the literary style of this period. Haraprasad Śāstri's edition of Sandhyākaranandi's *Rāmacarita* has been revised with English translation and notes by Radhagovinda Basak (Sastri 1969 vol.III,no.1). This has been considered a meticulous narration and translation of the text. Romila Thapar observed the literary traits of *Rāmacarita* and accordingly Sandhyākaranandi's literary concepts as an author. She has made a subtle narration of the text and critical observation of the kavipraśasti section (Thapar 2013, 496-98). H.H. Daniel Ingalls's critical introduction and translation of the text *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* was an illustration of the merits of Sanskrit poetry and a representation of classical Sanskrit literature as a whole (Ingalls 1965, 1-53). Nupur Dasgupta who has observed the process of the literary style of this phase in all genres of literature, places the Pāla trend of literary style taking on both the epigraphic compositions and the literary texts (Dasgupta 2018, 545-67).

The choice of inscriptions as a source for discerning the rising trend of literary culture in this context was deliberate. This choice was guided not only by the availability of such volumes of available records but also because these records, emanating from state agency, would afford us clarity about the role of the polity, the political agents and the attendant society of creators and consumers of the literary products. Not only do they furnish us with details of administrative processes especially connected to revenue administration and illuminate the social sphere of such activities but also throw interesting light on literary practices or literary style. No literary text bears more illuminating information on these aspects of the production of literary creativity. The inscriptions are also extremely important as they provide us with visible clues to the transformation of the scripts from early Nāgarī to Proto Nāgarī and finally to the Nāgarī type of characters. This forms an integral and important aspect of the process of literary evolution pointing to the pattern of literary accomplishment.

Inscriptions of the Pālas

Among the voluminous inscriptions of the Pāla phase (8^{th}-12^{th} century CE), the royal *praśastis* provide the most illuminating clues to literary history. Some *praśastis* were dedicated to various personalities such as feudal lords, subordinate rulers, Brahmin advisors, or other religious personages who were politically associated with the Pāla administration. These afford us some idea about the horizon of literary engagements.

The Khalimpur Copper plate of Dharmapāla

The Khalimpur copper plate of Dharmapāla was the first testimony to an elongated and ornate composition of the Pālas (Kielhorn 1896, 243-54; Batavyal 1895, 39-63; Sircar 1983, 63-70; Maitreya 2004, 9-28). This copperplate bears testimony to the involvement of the Pālas in the north Indian struggle for hegemony over Kanauj against the Gurajara-Pratīhāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It is also significant for its eulogistic poetry, with fine expertise in literary style, handling of language and use of similes - *upamā* in poetic beauty, alaṁkāra and *rūpaka* (metaphor), *atiśayokti* (hyperbole) and play of words or *śleṣa*. Hence, this inscription can be considered the landmark of this phase's literary genre.

F. Kielhorn has provided a detailed provenance of this text. He stated that this copperplate has been discovered by Umes Chandra Batavyal in November 1893 at the village of Khālimpur near Gauḍa in the Malda district of Bhagalapur division (Kielhorn 1896, 243). The alphabet of the inscription belongs to the Magadha variety of the Nāgarī, which can be considered a ninth-century inscription on palaeographic grounds (*Ibid*. 244). Apart from the beginning word 'oṁ svasti' which continued with twelve other eulogical verses, the rest of the text was composed in prose (*Ibid*.). The eulogy portion of the inscription contains the panegyric description of the Pāla family in a fine embellished tone, commencing with a poetic ornate verse in praise of Lord Sugata (Buddha), whose huge power was invoked for protection. Poetic embellishments of the rulers as protagonists in the *praśastis* were already emerging in the main theatre of northern and central India and the Deccan around the late 8th century. Bengal seems to have entered the arena of high Sanskrit poetics at the right moment. Yet, certain distinctness in orthography and details of local vernacular words for technical terms in the land grant portion lend a regional character to the whole composition.

The Nalanda Copperplate of Devapāla:

The Nalanda Copper of Devapāla (c.821-860 CE) (Sircar 1983,71), characteristically identical to the Khalimpur Copperplate, was regarded as another ornate composition (Majumdar1926,1-29; Shastri Hirananda1924,310-27; Shastri Hirananda,No.66,p.92ff; Sircar 1983,71-79). The author of this copperplate had not only praised the Pālas, but also elevated another dynasty through his writings.

The significance of this copperplate lies in mentioning the connections between Bengal and south-east Asia during the reign of Devapāla. According to Abdul Momin Chowdhury, it has been claimed that the king of Suvarṇadvīpa Bālaputradeva surrendered to Devapāla for the purposes of constructing a temple at Nālandā, within the realm of Devapāla at the time.

The copper plate was found in 1921 at Nālandā by Hirananda Shastri. The characters of this inscription belong to the type of northern class of alphabets of about the 9th century CE as similar to the Khalimpur copperplate of Dharmapāla, the Munger copperplate of Devapāla etc. With the exception of the introductory 'oṁ svasti', this is a verse composition down to the commencement of the formal part of the grant. The donative part of the inscription is also in verse. It commenced with the usual auspicious 'oṁ svasti' and was followed by a verse in honour of Lord Buddha and 14 verses in tribute to the Pāla genealogy. It is indeed interesting to observe the juxtaposing of praise for military might with the traits of benign benevolence and supreme knowledge while lauding the monarchs, which on the one hand exhibits the literary potential of the composer and, at the other, projects a sense of the moral embedded in the heart of the literati of this time, expressing the pacifying sentiments of Buddhism. The donative part of the inscription also reveals a modicum of understanding about the Buddhist ritual practices associated with pious actions.

Part II of the inscription had the panegyric description of the Śailendra family. The praise of the Śailendra dynasty under the patronage of the Pālas was an indirect indication of Devapāla's glory. The references to epic icons and legends was juxtaposed with the buddhist tradition which brings out the peculiar tone of the eulogy here. The Śailendra ruler's devotion to the Buddha and the Nālandā *vihāra* were mentioned as the chief concern which encouraged him to request the grant of five villages from Devapāla.

Some more royal inscriptions of the Pāla Dynasty

Among the other royal inscriptions, as the Pāla empire got revived under Mahīpāla I during the 11th century CE, fine literary compositions flourished once more as noted in the Rangpur, Belwa, Bangarh, and Biyala copperplates. Among them, the Bangarh copperplate was a very important literary testimony during the reign of Mahīpāla (Banerji 1917, 324-30). According to R.D. Banerji, some characters of this inscription exhibit well developed Bengali forms of script, while the other were advancing towards the Bengali alphabet of the 12th century CE (*Ibid*.325). The metres used here were *vasantatilaka, śārdūlavikrīḍita, sragdharā, āryā, mandākrāntā, mālinī* and *indravajrā* (*Ibid*.325). It is also an important land grant to a *brāhmaṇa* named Kṛṣṇādityaśarmman, who was an immigrant of Hastipadagrāma of Śrāvasti (*Ibid*.325). Thus, this copperplate was an indication towards the building up of Brahmanical network during the 10th-12th century CE in Varendra. It was incised by the artisan Mahīdhara, an inhabitant of Poṣalī (*Ibid*. line62, p.328). This was regarded a centre of artisans with special skills and literacy during the Pāla period.

Inscriptions related to non – royal personages

As noted, this phase witnessed interesting development in the issuance of a few beautiful panegyrics. But such compositions were also found to be devoted to diverse personages, especially of political or religious importance. The protagonists to whom these dedications are made, for example, comprised a *brāhmaṇa* adviser- officer – courtier and feudatory, a *brāhmaṇa* – turned Buddhist adherent of high repute, and a feudatory ruler in the eastern borders of the Pāla domain, etc. A study of some of these examples would throw light on how a standard of literary excellence was getting organized, perhaps drawing inspiration from the courtly orbit.

The Badal rock pillar inscription of Guravamiśra: of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla

The Badal pillar inscription of Guravamiśra (dated by D.C. Sircar to 855 – 910 CE) (Sircar 1983, 71) records the deeds of a brāhmaṇa family, of which five generations were associated with the six Pāla kings by serving them mostly as political advisors and occasionally as priests or generals (Kielhorn1892,160-67; Sircar1983,87-91). It is a *praśasti* or laudatory account of Guravamiśra and his ancestors. This inscription was also linked to the historical process of the time. It bears witness to the way in which the subordinate rulers or feudal lords were established in the political background of the Pālas at this time. Hence, it inscribed the *praśasti* of a feudal family. This inscription is a testament to how the literary style has evolved in the long history of the Pālas.

This stone pillar inscription was discovered in the vicinity of the town of Badāl, in the Dinajpur district of the province of Bengal. The inscription records the installation of a pillar by the *brāhmaṇa* Rāma Guravamiśra (Kielhorn1892,160-61). The palaeography of this inscription dates it between the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century CE (*Ibid.*). The inscription is in verse except for the short 29 lines of writing. This portion of the inscription records the name of the engraver, Viṣṇubhadra. Orthography and grammar indicate peculiarities as discussed by Kielhorn. This panegyric description of Guravamiśra and his predecessor has been considered to be an elegant and rich composition (*Ibid.*161). Full of poetic beauty and elegance, this work proves to be an excellent testimony to the literary genre of tenth-century Bengal. Above all, this inscription bears the witness to the enhanced position of *brāhmaṇas* as subordinate rulers in the form of various services and appointments to administrative positions during the Pāla phase.

Bhaturia Rock inscription of Rājyapāla

The Bhaturia Rock Inscription of Rājyapāla dated to the 10th century CE comprises a eulogy of Yaśodāsa who was a member of a non-*brāhmaṇa* literate family and was hereditarily in the service of the Pāla kings (Sircar1987,150 ,54; Sundaram & Bhadri2011,14-19). It is a beautiful stone slab inscription consisting of 20 lines of well-preserved writing. This praśasti is composed of various metres, for example, *sragdharā*, *anuṣṭubh*, *śārdūlavikrīḍita*, *mandākrāntā*, *hariṇī*, *vasantatilakā* and *upajāti* (*Ibid.*15) As Sircar observed, the characters of this inscription belonged to the *Gauḍiya* or eastern Indian alphabet of the 10th century CE.

This inscription was very important from a historical point of view. It bore the evidence of the emergence of local chieftains under the Pāla reign and their growing influence as sāmanta. Yaśodāsa, who belonged to a non-*brāhmaṇa* literate family was appointed as a mantrin and then promoted to the position of Tantrādhikārin, an officer in charge of administration by king Rājyapāla. It records the donation of a village Madhusrava to the deity of the Śaiva temple built by Yaśodāsa on the condition that a certain amount of tax would continue to be paid to the king (Sircar1987,154,lines14-17). This inscription portrayed literary traits like *rūpaka* and *upamā* regarding Yaśodāsa who had been compared to the lord of speech, Bṛhaspati (*Ibid.* verse5, 154). This composition was engraved on the stone slab by the artisan Śrīnidhāna (*Ibid.* verse15, 154).

Not only that, we also get hints of many quarters of literate activity which were reflected in the epigraphic postings and compositions and many foci of such compositions which indicate the wide orbit of literary intent and themes.

Stylistic Trend of the Pāla Inscriptions:

Inscriptions	**Time Period**	**Sub-region**	**Stylistic Trend or Significance**
The Khalimpur copperplate inscription of Dharmapāla	c. 9th century CE	Varendra, Puṇḍravardhana	The first testimony to an ornate literary composition of the Pālas. This copperplate is significant for witnessing the involvement of the Pālas in the north Indian struggle for the hegemony over Kanauji against the Gurajara-Pratīhāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It is also significant for its eulogistic poetry and donative charter with fine expertise in literary style.
The Nalanda Copper of Devapāla	c.9th century CE	Magadha, Bihar	This was not only the *praśasti* of the Pālas but also contained the *praśasti* of the Śailendra dynasty in southeast Asia. It bears

			testimony to the fact that the king of Suvarṇadvīpa Bālaputradeva surrendered to Devapāla. At Bālaputradeva's request, Devapāla granted him five villages for the construction of a temple at Nālandā.
The Ghoshrava Rock Inscription of Devapāla	late 9th or beginning of 10th century CE	Ghosrava, Bihar	This is a eulogy of a Buddhist named Vīradeva loaded with embellished similes and allegorical verses. Illuminates the tone of philosophical and moral aspects of Buddhism as a religion that had lent a distinct ethos and sentiment.
The Badal pillar inscription of Guravamiśra	c. 10th century CE	Dinajpur district, Puṇḍravardhana	*Praśasti* of a brāhmaṇa family, who were hereditarily in service of the Pāla kings as their subordinates. It portrays the dominating influence of the subordinate rulers under the Pālas. Full of poetic beauty and elegance.
The Bhaturia Rock Inscription of Yaśodāsa	c. 10th century CE	Rajshahi district, Puṇḍravardhana	Praśasti of Yaśodāsa, who came from a non-*brāhmaṇa* literate family and was subordinate to the Pāla kings.

Śaiva Inscription from Bangarh	c.11th century CE	Bangarh, Dakshin Dinajpur District, Puṇḍravardhana.	A eulogy of the Śaivāchārya named Murtiśiva. An interesting reading of the emergence of the religion and a centre manned by Śaiva ascetics in and around the sub-region at the time which is significant to reveal another source of literary genesis in the process of the evolution of literary culture in early medieval Bengal.
Gaya Kṛṣṇadvarikā temple inscription of Viśvāditya	c.11th century CE	Gayā, Magadha	*Praśasti* of a local ruler in Gayā. As a temple inscription reflected a beautiful literary creation.
The Kamauli CPI of Vaidyadeva	c.mid-12thcentury	Kāmarūpa	This copperplate was issued from Kāmarūpa by Vaidyadeva, an appointed ruler of Kumārapāla. Although Vaidyadeva was appointed by Kumarapāla, this inscription reflected his autonomous status.

We may now note some brilliant examples of creativity and knowledge from this phase's variegated Sanskrit textual literature. In fact, a number of works composed by eminent litterateurs during this phase illuminate the complete scene of cultural efflorescence in this phase. A few examples from different genres of texts have been briefly discussed below to bring out the contemporary literary flavour.

The *Rāmacarita* by Sandhyākarnandi:

The finest exemplar of the flourishing literary design of this phase was the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākaranandi. It was a lone composition of c. 11th-12th century C.E., through which this rising culture was best expressed. Haraprasad Shastri's edition followed by that of Radhagovinda Basak along with a meticulous English translation and notes provides us with clarity about the composition (Shastri, *Rāmacarita*). The work has received attention from many eminent scholars like Sukumari Bhattacharji (1933, 242-43), and Romila Thapar. In fact, Thapar adds it to the list of the examples of the significant genre of the *Caritas* alongside Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣacarita*, as a work closely defining the writing of history and points to the subtle narration, literary merits, and the style of *kavipraśasti*. (Thapar 2013, 496-98).

Nupur Dasgupta mentioned that although carita kāvya had already been introduced and had crystallized with the brilliant penmanship of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākaranandi was probably the best of its kind created in Bengal ((Dasgupta 2018, 563). The *Rāmacarita*, written in a rare style, narrates the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the one hand and the dynastic history of the Pāla rulers, from the days of Mahīpāla II to the time of Madanapāla, on the other. The rise of the kaivartas and their ousting by Rāmapāla was the main theme of this carita - kāvya. Sandhyākaranandi composed this text in double entendre (with dual meaning/ reference), a beautiful amalgamation of epic story and dynastic narrative. The work consisted of 220 verses arranged in four cantos or *paricchedas*. (*Ibid*.563) Despite the literary criticism, the skilful use of *śleṣa* and *alaṁkāra*, the polished application of the epic narrative genre and the combination of two different narrative contents/allusions transforms this text into an extraordinary piece of literary composition – cum -history. The author Sandhyākaranandi's *karaṇa-kāyastha* background, his special skill in *vakroktimārga* following the trend of Subandhu and Bāṇabhaṭṭa and the way he portrayed popular works like epics in the dynastic history of Bengal, reveals his proficiency in the classical tradition and writing with reference to the mainstream Sanskritic culture (*Ibid*.564). Simply put, the *Rāmacarita* presents the glorification of the Pāla ruler and his prowess written in the *āryā* metre. The centrality of this literature was the description of the valour and generosity of Rāmpāla, in the guise of the epic narrative of *Rāmāyaṇa*, using ostentatious language and literary devices current in the contemporary *praśasti* genre. But what is of more significance is how even though the kaivartas were enemies of the protagonist and were in general parlance of the lower social rung, they have been admired with poetic subtlety. It has been said that the kaivarta chief Divya shared royal fortune and rose to a high position (*Ibid.* cantos1, verse38, p.26).

Most interestingly, the text delineates the characteristics of the Kaivarta rebellion and the social changes which occurred around it in Bengal. Ryosuke Furui had tried to tease out the gradual changes in the land grant practices made by the Pāla ruler and alludes to this as the prime factor behind this outrage (Furui 2014, 95-97). The increasing demands made by the Brāhmaṇa donees and pressure of royal dues as well as evident pressure created by the growing hegemony of the rulers indicated by the large body of officials encountered in the landgrant charters, would have been oppressive for the rural society which ignited into a revolt of the *sāmantas* led by the kaivartas. On the other hand, both Furui and Sayantani Pal (Pal 2019, 502-17) have also alluded to the phenomenon of social mobility which was witnessed in the event of the rise of the kaivartas into landholding community, something which has also been recorded in inscriptions, which portrays the growth of kaivartas as an important caste-group.

According to Romila Thapar, this text was apparently a play on language. In the *kavipraśasti* section, the author has composed the verses through *lakṣmaṇā vyāñjanā*. This means the application of some expression whose literal meaning differs from its verbal meaning. Since Sandhyākaranandi's father was in the position of sāndhivigrahika, the minister of peace and war of Puṇḍravardhana, some of the internal affairs of the state have been disclosed by the poet in his kāvya through *śleṣa*. Only one copy of this kāvya has been found in Nepal and an annotation of the book made by a Buddhist scholar named Śīlabhadra was found there. Evidence that this work was quite popular at that time can be found in the presentation of its contents in the Kamauli copperplate of Vaidyadeva (Dasgupta 2018, 563)

Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa of Vidyākara:

It is quite significant that we note the genesis of a distinct category of texts in this period, especially from Bengal, these comprise the anthological literature (koṣa-kāvya) as defined by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* as 'a collection of detached verses arranged under different sections' (Banerji1965, introduction). We are told that anthological literature was composed in order to satisfy the 'moods' and 'literary taste' of the common people. There were many poets who composed important verses, but remained in the shadows, behind the 'dazzling glow' of eminent poets like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi etc. The compiler compiled the creations of those poets and produced anthological literature. To this genre belong the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* of Vidyākara (c.11th-12th century) (Kosambi & Gokhle1957). The first edition of this book was compiled about 1100 CE and the expanded edition was about 1130 CE. The compiler Vidyākara hailed from the Jagaddala Vihāra, situated in the present Malda district of East Bengal (Ibid. preface).

H.H. Daniel Ingalls' critical study of the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* illuminates Vidyākara as an exemplary compiler and someone with heightened appreciation and knowledge of literature created in Sanskrit over a long period (Ingalls1965, 1-53). This text was divided into fifty sections or *vrajyās*. Among them first six were devoted to divine characters (Kosambi & Gokhale 1957 p.xl). The seventh section is dedicated to the sun, who was considered a minor deity (*Ibid*. p.xl). The following sections or *vrajyās* contain seasonal matters. From *vrajyā* 14 onwards this text is dedicated to erotic love and experiences as the main theme of this text (*Ibid*. p.xli). In the sections of rural life experiences preparation of mustard oil (318), peasant women's singing (1178, 1182, 314) are all delineated. The sections on poverty represented the real-life scenario. The first section, *Sugatavrajyā* comprised of verses of Buddhist scholars like Aśvaghoṣa, Vasuka, Aparājitarakṣita, Vasukalpa, etc (Dasgupta 2018, 564). The next section *Lokeśvaravrajyā* attributed to compositions of Buddhakaragupta and Ratnakīrti (*Ibid*. 565) The other sections of the text contain verses of eminent scholars like Kālidāsa, Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Bhavabhūti, Vākpatirāja, Rājaśekhara, Amarasiṁha, Puruṣottamadeva etc. (*Ibid*.565). Some poets were ascribed to the status of Pāla court poets, such as Yogeśvara, Mahodadhi, Śatānanda etc. Vidyākara's compilation is considered the oldest general anthology of Sanskrit verses and its compilation throws light on the literary scene of early medieval Bengal, indicating the prevalence of a culture of reading and appreciation. According to Ingalls, the exceptional quality of the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* among the works of classical Sanskrit literature should be attributed to the inclusion of the poetry of the common composers illuminating the life of commoners (Ingalls 1965, 51).

From the above analysis, it is observable that there was an evolution of literary style in Bengal during the 9th-12th century CE. For example, the Khalimpur copperplate of Dharmapāla of the ninth century was the first testimony to an elongated and ornate composition of the Pālas, with fine expertise in literary style. This copperplate is especially significant because it bears testimony to the fact that the Pālas got involved in the north Indian struggle for hegemony over Kanauj against the Gurjara-Pratīhāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. D.C. Sircar held it as an important historical record in this context (Sircar1985, 11). But it is also extremely significant in providing a background to the rise of the Pāla dynastic rule. The inscriptions of Devapāla were almost similar to the style of Dharmapāla's inscriptions. They were also of great historical significance. Amongst them, the Nalanda Copperplate was particularly notable. It's connection to the world of Buddhism in its greatest centre of the times, Nālandā, and with the ruler of the Śailendra dynasty of south-east Asia not only indicate the outlying connections between Bengal and south-east Asia during the reign of Devapāla, but also hint at the cultural reach of the Pāla court at the time. Equally important are other inscriptions of Devapāla, for example, the Munger Copperplate. On the other hand, we have noted the most interesting development in the form of eulogies composed and posted in inscriptions which were devoted to subordinate officials, feudatories, religious personages, etc. which exemplify the expanding horizon of literary creativity. From this period the influence of the subordinate rulers under the Pālas in Bengal became prestigious and accordingly shaped the structure of the inscriptions of that time. The Badal pillar inscription of Guravamiśra at the beginning of the tenth century CE was particularly significant among them. This inscription bears witness to the fact that the dominance of subordinate rulers was established during the reign of the Pālas. Hence, it inscribed the *praśasti* of a brāhmaṇa family, of which five generations were associated with the six Pāla kings by serving them mostly as political advisors and occasionally as priests or generals. Another such eulogy was the Bhaturia Rock Inscription of Yaśodāsa in the 10th century CE. Yaśodāsa was a member of a non-*brāhmaṇa* literate family, who were hereditarily in the service of the Pāla kings. He was raised to the position of a subordinate ruler. After this, during the weak reign of Gopāla III and Vigrahapāla II in the late tenth century CE, there was no such visible spark in the literary styles of the inscriptions. Again, as the Pāla empire got revived under the reign of Mahīpāla I during the 11th century CE, fine literary compositions got flourished through his inscriptions of Rangpur, Belwa, Bangarh, and Biyala copperplates. If we look at the later Pāla copperplates, there is a fairly similar literary expression. For example, if we look at the Bharatkala Bhavan Copperplate of Rajyapāla during the first half of the tenth century CE and the two Rajibpur copperplate Inscriptions of Gopala IV and Madanapāla during the middle of the 12th century CE, then we can see that the same laudatory verses have been applied here till Nārāyaṇapāla. They followed a similar pattern of poetic style. But if we observe the inscriptions of Madanapāla during the mid-12th century, the last ruler of the Pāla dynasty, it is notable that his inscriptions like the Manhali Copperplate depicted a distinct and interesting literary style. Besides, there were some other Pāla inscriptions that portrayed a fine literary tone through their poetic charm. For example, the Gaya Kṛṣṇadvārikā temple inscription of Viśvāditya in the eleventh century CE was considered a beautiful literary creation. Again, the Kamauli Copperplate of Vaidyadeva of the 12th century was unique in nature. This copperplate is issued from Kāmarūpa by Vaidyadeva, an appointed ruler of Kumārapāla. It is to be noted, that although he was a minister of Kumārapāla, he achieved his sovereign status. The reflection of which is visible in the literary style of the Kamauli copperplate.

If we look at the literary style of this period, we perceive a flow of creativity which was often reaching great heights and at other times found lacking in quality, perhaps some of these trends reflect the historical processes of the times and often these actually pertained to the skill of the composer. The most important aspect to note is that apart from the main composers and their patrons, the scribes, engravers and messengers were also crucial in the task of depicting the inscriptions. They held important administrative positions. Several references indicated the presence of *kāyasthas* and *vaidyas* as the scribe of the inscriptions. From this period onwards their identity as a class of literati became prominent. The literary expressions they engraved were meant to address diverse social classes for example the administrative officials, influential residents of the rural society like the *brāhmaṇas*, *mahāttamās*, *kuṭumbins*, *jyeṣṭhakāyastha*, and other rural inhabitants like the *kṣetrakaras*, *medas*, *andhrakas* and *caṇḍālas* and various artisanal classes. Thus, the process of literary culture as illuminated in the inscriptions and literature of this period hints toward a varied social order.

References:

Banerji R.D. 1917. 'The Bangarh Grant of Mahipala I: The 9th year' in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol.XIV, 324-330.

---- 1917. 'The Pālas of Bengal' in *Memoirs of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, V, Calcutta, 43-113.Banerji S. C ed. 1965. *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta of Śrīdharadāsa,* Calcutta.

Barnett Lionel D 1925-26. 'The Mungir Plate of Devapaladeva: Samvat 33' in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, 304-07.

Batavyal Umes Chandra 1895. 'On a new Copper plate Grant of Dharmapāla' in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol.LXIII, Part-I, Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 39-63.

Bhattacharji Sukumari 1993. *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Hyderabad: Orient Longman, Limited, 242 – 43.

Bhattacharya Amitabha 1977. *Historical Geography of Ancient and Early Medieval Bengal*. Calcutta: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar.

Bhattacharya Gouriswar 1988. 'A New Pala Ruler: Discovery of a Valuable Charter' in *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 4, 71-73.

---- 1992. 'The New Pala Ruler Mahendrapala'. *Pratnasamiksha*, I, 165-70.

Bhattacharya Suresh Chandra 2005-06. 'The Jagajjibanpur Plate of Mahendrapala Comprehensively Re-edited' in *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. XXII, 61- 125.

Chattopadhyaya B.D. 1990. *Aspects of Rural Settlements and Rural Society in Early Medieval India*. Calcutta: K.P.Bagchi.

Dasgupta Nupur 2018. 'Sanskrit Literature and Technical Treatises', in *The History of Bangladesh: Early Bengal in Regional Perspectives (up to c.1200 CE)*, eds. Abdul Momin Chowdhury and Ranabir Chakravarti, vol.2, Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 545-67.

Furui Ryosuke 2005. 'The Rural World of an Agricultural Text: A Study on The Krsiparasara'. *Studies in History,* Vol. 21, 2, 181-215.

---- 2014. 'Characteristics of Kaivarta Rebellion Delineated from the Rāmacarita' in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Platinum Jubilee (75th) Session, 95 – 97.

---- 2015. 'Rajibpur Copper-plate Inscriptions of Gopala IV and Madanapala' in *Pratna Samiksha*, Vol. 6, 217-22.

---- 2016. 'Bharat Kala Bhavan Copper-plate Inscription of Rajyapala, year 2' in *Puravritta*, Vol. I, 41-56.

---- 2017. 'Subordinate rulers under the Pālas: Their diverse origin and shifting power relation with the king'. *The Indian economy and social history review*, Vol. 54, No. 3, 339-59.

---- 2020. *Land and society in early south Asia; eastern India 400-1250 AD*. London and New York: Rutledge.

Huntington Susan 1984. *The "Pāla-Sena" Schools of Sculpture*. Leiden: E.J.Brill.

Ingalls Daniel H.H. ed. and trans. 1965. *An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry: Vidyākara's "Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa"*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Kielhorn F. 1892. 'Badal Pillar Inscription of the time of Nārayanapāla' in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol.II, 160-67.

---- 1896. 'Khalimpur Plate of Dharmapāladeva' in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol.IV, 243-54.

Kosambi D.D. and V.V.Gokhale eds. 1957. *The Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Maitreya Akshay Kumar 2004, *Gaudalekhamala*, Kolkata: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 9-28.

Majumdar N. G. 1926. 'Nalanda Copper Plate of Devapāladeva' in *Monographs of the Varendra Research Society*, No.1, Calcutta: The Cotton Press, 1-29.

Mukherji Ramaranjan and Sachindra Kumar Maity 1967. *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions Bearing on History and Civilization of Bengal*. Calcutta: Firma K.L.Mukhopadhayaya.

Morrison B. M. 1970. *Political Centres and Cultural Regions in Early Bengal*. Tuscon: The University of Arizona Press.

Pal Sayantani 2019. 'Revisiting the Kaivarta Revolt Locating the Emergence of a Caste' in *Early Indian History and Beyond,* eds., Osmund Bopearachchi and Suchandra Ghosh, New Delhi, 502 – 17.

Ray Niharranjan 2009. *Bāṅgālīr Itihās: Ādi parba*. 7th edition, Kolkata: dey's publishing.

Sanyal Rajat 2014. 'The Pala-Sena and Others'. In *Political History and Administration (c. AD 750-1300), History of Ancient India*, ed. Dilip K.Chakrabarti and Makkhan Lal, Vol. V, 165-203.

Shastri Haraprasad ed. 1969. 'Rāmacarita by Sandhyākara Nandi', Revision with English Translation, Notes and Re-editing by R.G.Basak, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol.III, No.1, Calcutta: The Asiatic Society.

Shastri Hirananda 1924. 'The Nalanda Copper-plate of Devapāladeva' in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol.XVII, 310-27.

---- 1942. 'Nalanda Copper plate of Devapāla' in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material*, No. 66. Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 92ff.

---- 1952. 'Pala Rule in the Tippera District' in Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXVIII, 51-57.

---- 1965. *Indian Epigraphy*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

---- 1973. *Epigraphic Discoveries in East Pakistan*. Calcutta.

---- 1982. *Silalekha Tamrashashanadir Prasanga*. Kolkata: Sahityalok.

---- 1983. 'Badal Stone Pillar Inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla (c.855-910 A.D)' in *Select Inscriptions*, Vol.II, 87-91.

---- 1983. 'Khalimpur Copper Plate Inscription of Dharmapāla (c.775-812 AD), Regnal year 32', *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. II, 63-70.

---- 1983. 'Nalanda Copperplate inscription of Devapāla', in *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. II, 71.

---- 1985. *The Kānyakubja-Gauḍa Struggle from the sixth to the twelfth century A.D.*, Calcutta: The Asiatic Society.

---- 1987. 'Bhaturiya Inscripion of Rajyapāla' in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXIII, 150-54.

Sundaram Dr. J. and Dr. K.M.Bhadri eds. 2011. *Uṭṭaṅkita Sanskrit Vidyā Araṇya Epigraphs*, Vol.VII, Mysore, 14-19.

Thapar Romila 2013. *The Past Before Us: Historical Traditions of Early North India*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Vasu N.N. 1901. 'The Manhali Copper-plate Inscription of Madanapaladeva' in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIX, Part I, 66-73.

THE GAEKWAD'S ORIENTAL SERIES

GOS. Nos.		
169	NYĀYĀLAṄKĀRA - of Abhayatilaka Upādhyāya - Edited by A. L. Thakur & Late J. S. Jetly (1981)	Rs. 143.00
170	TṚCABHĀSKARA by Bhāskararāya - Edited by R. G. Sathe (1982)	Rs. 53.00
171	ŚRĪ GAṆEŚAVIJAYAKĀVYAM - Edited by B. N. Bhatt (1984)	Rs. 46.00
172	PĀDA INDEX OF THE CRITICAL EDITION OF VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA Vol. I - Edited by R. T. Vyas (1989)	Rs. 303.00
173	GANDHASĀRA - GANDHAVĀDA - Edited by R. T. Vyas (1989)	Rs. 128.00
174	NYĀYAKANDALĪ - Edited by Late J.S. Jetly & Vasant G. Parikh (1991)	Rs. 275.00
175	FATUHAT-I-ALAMGIRI of Ishwar Das Nagar Persian Text; English Trans. by Prof. M.F. Lokhandwala & Sir Jadunath Sarkar - Edited by Dr. Raghubir Sinh & Quazi Karamtullah. Ist Edition (1995)	Rs. 287.00
176	VIŚVĀMITRĪMĀHĀTMYA - Critically Edited with a Critical Study of the text by J. P. Thaker. Ist Edition (1997)	Rs. 280.00
177	THE PĀDA INDEX OF THE VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA Vol. II (1997) - A comprehensive Index of verse-quarters of the Critical Edition of Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa - Edited by R.I. Nanavati. (1997)	Rs. 455.00
178	AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MSS IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE Vol. III - Edited by P. H. Joshi & B.P. Pandya (1998) Ist Edition.	Rs. 670.00
179	ANUMĀNAKHAṆḌADŪṢAṆODDHĀRA of Narahari Upādhyāya - Edited by V. G. Parikh (1999) - Ist Edition.	Rs. 155.00
180	GUJARAT UNDER THE MAITRAKAS OF VALABHĪ - Edited by H.G. Shastri (2000).	Rs. 410.00
181	PĀDA INDEX OF THE VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA - Vol. III - Edited by R. I. Nanavati (2001)	Rs. 310.00
182	THE SŪRYAPRAKĀŚA OF SŪRYADĀSA - Edited by Pushpa Kumari Jain (2002)	Rs. 265.00
183	KALANDIKĀPRAKĀŚA OF SOMANĀTHA VYĀSA - Edited with an Introduction by Babulal Shukla Shastri (2002)	Rs. 255.00
184	PRIYAṀVADĀCARITAM OF BHIKŪDEVA - Edited with an Introduction by Purushottam H. Joshi (2002)	Rs. 140.00
185	KṚTYAKALPATARU (ŚĀNTIKĀṆḌA). - Edited by M.L. Wadekar (2008)	Rs. 265.00
186	AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE (Vol. IV) - Compiled & Edited by U.M. Brahmachari & S. C. Prajapati (2008)	Rs. 515.00
187	MEGHADŪTA VYAKHYA BY JANARDANA - Edited by P. H. Joshi, B. P. Pandya & M. L. Wadekar (2009)	Rs. 170.00
40.	ADVAYAVAJRASAMGRAHA- by Advayavajra, Edited by Haraprasad Shastri (Reprint), 2014	Rs. 220.00

Books are available at :

Co-ordinator, The University Publications Unit
Opp. C. C. Mehta Auditorium, Pratapgunj, Vadodara - 390 002, Gujarat-India
Phone : 0265 2781700

TWO UNPUBLISHED BRAHMANICAL IMAGES FROM SINGHBHUM, JHARKHAND: AN ICONOGRAPHIC STUDY

Rahul Nag*

Abstract: The present paper is the outcome of recent fieldwork resulting in the discovery of two Brahmanical images from the village of Pamiya of Singhbhum, Jharkhand. A substantial gamut of stone sculptural material, associated with different religious ideologies prevalent in early medieval Jharkhand, was encountered during this study. Among these, newly reported sculptures of Viṣṇu and Sūrya are remarkable in their iconographic compositions. The paper presents a primary analysis of the iconographic features of these Viṣṇu and Sūrya images and their nature of occurrences. The present paper discusses the iconographic details, artistic features, and tentative chronology of the images, along with a note on the beliefs and practices associated with the Brahmanical ideology.

Keywords: Singhbhum, Image, Brahmanical, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Iconoplastic.

Introduction:

The present paper is an attempt at an exploratory study of the iconography of two unpublished Brahmanical images discovered from the village of Pamiya of Singhbhum region, Jharkhand, documented during my field investigation in this area. The survey has resulted in the discovery, inter alia of a substantial number of sculptures associated with varying religious ideologies. Among these, the sculptures of Viṣṇu and Sūrya, which were discovered from the site of Pamiya, are copious and are remarkable in their iconographic minutiae.

The available archaeological sources suggest that the region of Singhbhum served as one of the important center for the growth and spread of Brahmanism during the early part of the early medieval period.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 193, Vol. 72, pp. 201-209.

* Searsole Rajbari, Raniganj, Paschim Bardhaman-713358, West Bengal
M: 08436245138, E-mail: archaeorahul@gmail.com

Site: Village Pamiya, ($23^0 2'$N, $85^0 51'$E) is located about 115km south of Tatanagar and 65km southwest of Chandil on the Balarampur - Tata road in the Saraikela-Kharswan district of Singhbhum region. The ancient mound at Pamiya village falls between the sub-terrain of the Chhotanagpur plateau and the Subarnarekha River, having alluvial deposits of laterite soil, mixed with a little ratio of sand and silt. The surface of the area has a slightly low to high contour (O'Malley 1910, 227–228).

Pamiya was intensively surveyed in January 2021 to understand the chrono-culture features of the archaeological artefacts from this region. Like most of the sites in the neighbourhood, this site is mostly disturbed by the encroachment of modern settlements and the extension of the cultivated lands. However, the ancient remains from the site, as we shall illustrate are clear indicators of the substantially rich archaeological history of the site. Approaching the village from the west, come across a badly disturbed mound topped by two newly constructed temples. However, a closer examination revealed that the mound represents an early structure site. The mound locally known as *Mahāmayī-Tila* is spread over 500 meter. Two temples, structure noticed in the northern area of the mound can be ascribed to the late Gupta to Pala period. Note that over the ancient temple remains new temples building has been built on top. Inside of both temples kept two Brahmanical images respectively, those are- Viṣṇu and Sūrya image.

Viṣṇu Image:

We are well aware of a series of research on the image worship of Viṣṇu. T. A. Gopinath Rao (Rao 1914, 69-279), N.K. Bhattasali (Bhattasali 2008, 77-93) have studied the iconographic development of Viṣṇu. J. N. Banerjea states: "One of the most important of the Brahmanical cults that came into being some centuries before the beginning of Christian era centered round Viṣṇu, but this god was not identical with the Vedic Viṣṇu. In the Epics and Puranic age Viṣṇu is regarded as the most influential member of the later Brahmanical triad, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva – the Creator, the Preserver, and the Destroyer……..Numerous iconographic texts describe the images of Viṣṇu and his various aspects, one of the earliest among them being the five couplets in *Bṛhatsamhitā* (Banerjea 1974, 385 – 386).

A noteworthy finding from the village of Pamiya is the Viṣṇu image **(Fig. 1)**, measuring 110x55x16 cm. This black basalt image is kept inside the first temple, locally known as *Māhāmayī* temple. The main deity in *dwibhaṅga* towards *tribhaṅga* - posture, stands on a lotus placed above a *pañcaratha* pedestal. The main figure is nicely carved in the round from the armpit to the foot standing in *samapādasthānaka* pose on a full-blown lotus with a circular nimbus. The pedestal contains the figure of two devotees in kneeling posture in *añjalimudrā* along with abstract floral motifs. Garuḍa, the *vāhana* of the deity is centrally placed on the pedestal. The image wears a *kirīṭamukuṭa* with *śīrobandha* and *puritas* and elaborately carved ornaments. The characteristic *tilaka* marks on the forehead; the *vaijayantimālā* and the beaded sacred thread are visible. The piece of cloth reaches up to the knee and is tied by a girdle with a knot on the right side.

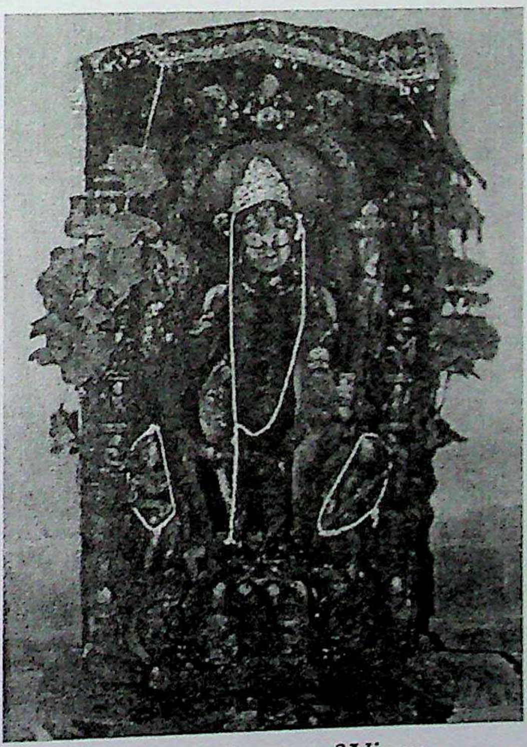


Fig. 1 - Image of Viṣṇu.

The main deity has four hands and the lower left hand is broken. The upper two hands hold *cakra* (wheel) and *gadā* (mace). The lower right hand rested on a full-blown lotus and holds a lotus bud and the broken left hand is also kept in the same manner. The back slab of the main deity is deeply cut in the section from the armpit to the toe along the figure of the main deity **(Fig. 2)**, thereby enhancing the three-dimensional effect of the image.

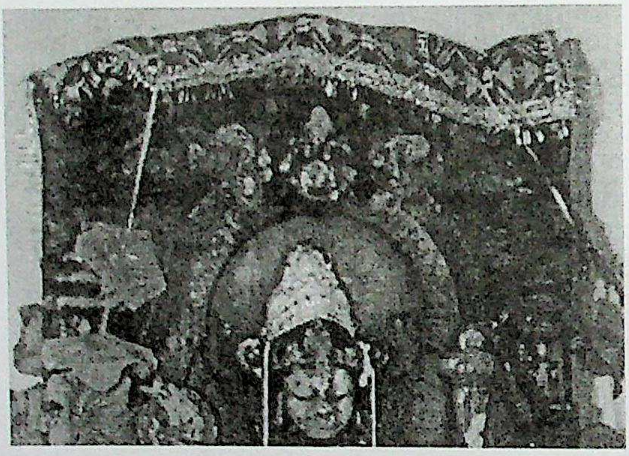


Fig 2. Details of back slab of Viṣṇu image.

This cutting of the back slab along the contour of the main deity is an early medieval feature noticeable in the significant number of Brahmanical and Buddhist icons. Two attendant deities are depicted on both sides of the main deity **(Fig. 3)**. The attendant deities, Saraswatī holding a *vīṇā* and Lakṣmī hold a *caurī*. Both the deities are standing on lotus pedestals and are in *tribhaṅga* posture. Ten incarnations of Viṣṇu are beautifully carved on both sides of the main deity. The back slab is decorated with *gajaśārdūla* and *Kinnara* players playing cymbals and *vīṇā* above the *makaramukha*. *Vidyādharas* are placed on both sides of the centrally placed *Kīrtimukha*. The symmetry of the entire composition is noteworthy due to the presence of a simple carved band that runs across the entire periphery of the stele.

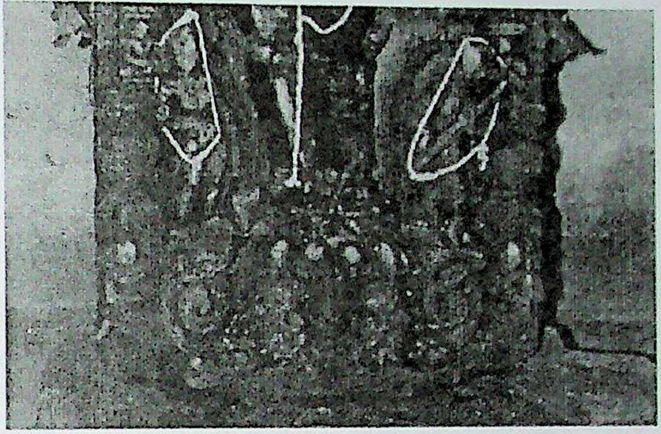


Fig. 3 – Pedestal portion of Viṣṇu image.

Sūrya Image:

The Sun-god was worshipped throughout India since very early times. J. N. Banerjea (1948, 47-102) has studied the iconographic development of the Sun-god. R.D. Banerji (1990, 117–118) has made an investigation into the iconic features of the images of the Sun-god found in East India.

The specimen of the sun god **(Fig. 4)** found in the village of Pamiya, measuring 140x70x7 cm is kept under a modern temple and is now daily worshipped by the villagers. The image is made of black basalt stone. The main figure is carved in the form of a niche of a temple **(Fig. 5a)**. The Sun god in *samapādasthānaka* posture wearing boots and standing on a *saptaratha* pedestal. The main deity Sūrya has two arms holding the stalks of two full-blown lotuses in both his uplifted hands. Sūrya wears a long *paridhāna* and the tunic is fastened by an *avyaṅga*. He carries a dagger attached to his waistband to his left. He wears a *mukuṭa* and profuse jewellery like *ratnakuṇḍalas*, *hāra*, *upavīta*, and *uttarīya*, etc.

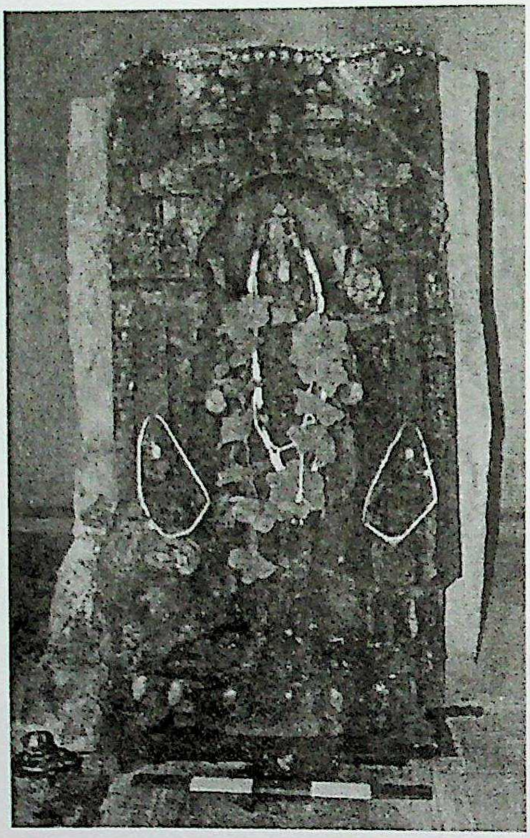
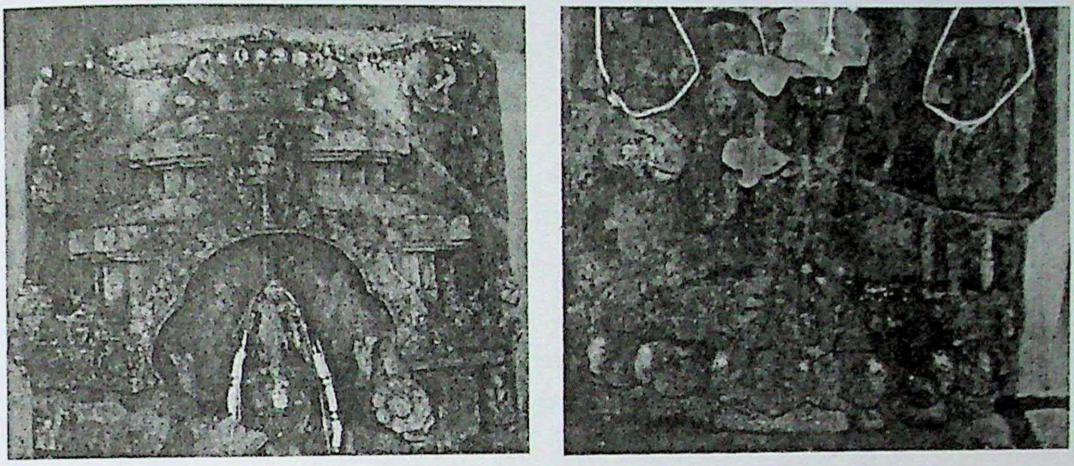


Fig. 4 – Image of Sūrya.

Mahāśvetā stands in front of the god just behind Aruṇa, the charioteer seated in the center. Seven horses drawing the chariot of Sūrya emerge from each projection of the *saptaratha* pedestal. The wheel of the chariot is carved at the center. The god is accompanied by Daṇḍī, Piṅgala. Piṅgala stands to the extreme right of the Sūrya and Daṇḍī, on the other hand, stands to the extreme left. The pot-bellied Piṅgala stands to the extreme right of the Sūrya probably holding a pen and an ink-pot. Daṇḍī, on the other hand, stands to the extreme left with the right hand in *abhayamudrā* and holding a long staff with the left hand. The consorts, *Sureṇu* and *Nikṣubhā* are not visible due to the erosion of the image. The back slab is richly decorated with the *Kīrtimukha* at the top **(Fig. 5b)**. The figures of garland bearers or *Vidyādharas* and musicians are depicted on either side of the nimbus. The mythical animals are beautifully carved on both sides of the main deity.



5a 5b

Fig. 5a & 5b – Iconographic details of back slab and pedestal portion of Sūrya image.

Observation:

The present sculptures are typical example of regional variation in Eastern Indian School Art of the 12th century CE. Among the discussed images, the icon of Viṣṇu is probably the earliest and carries unmistakable stylistic traits of the South Bihar plain. The oval-shaped back slab is simple and devoid of ornamentation. However, the elegant posture of the deity, execution of a diaphanous lower garment having floral motifs fastened at the waist, besides exquisite rendering of ornaments, and detailed delineation of the iconographic features and attire of his attendants indicate the influence of a strong artistic atelier under the guidance of which this masterpiece must have been produced.

The image of Sūrya is comparatively small and the back slab is decorated with a temple form **(Fig. 5a)**, this is a unique feature in the context of iconoplastic art of Jharkhand. Some attendant figures are absent on either side of the Sūrya image. The bodily form of image becomes stereotyped and slender. The sensitiveness and facial expression are absent in this image. The artistic features of the Viṣṇu and Sūrya images are similar with images of Purulia region of West Bengal. As far as the media are concerned, artists used locally available stone, probably it had played an important role for art centres. The stone was collected from Rakha hills.

Further field survey will help us to trace the more Brahmanical images and that will help us to understand the artistic features of the region.

The present work, based on fieldwork afresh within a micro-region, primarily shows the archaeological richness of the site. Second, the study indicates in the light of newly documented sculptures remaining from Pamiya of Singhbhum that the area must have witnessed a steady growth of the early medieval settlement, of which the sculptural and architectural assemblages reported here formed an integral part. The evidence of regular sculptural activities in Singhbhum and the adjoining areas of Chandil, Dulmi, Ichagarh of East Singhbhum as well as Itkhori of Hazaribagh (Chakrabarti 1993, 79-81) in the eleventh-twelfth centuries further indicate the development of growth of an essentially local school of artisans, behind the making of images having varying religious and sectarian patronages. Within the broader domain of the 'Pala-Sena' art historical milieu, the anonymous artisans of Singhbhum executed their aesthetic skills guided by powerful local ateliers.

References:

Banerjea, J. N. 1948. 'Sūrya, Aditya and the Navagrahas' in *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art,* XVI, Calcutta: Indian Society of Oriental Art, 47-102

Banerjea, J. N. 1974 (Reprint). *Development of Hindu Iconography,* Calcutta: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 385-386

Banerji, R.D. 1990 (reprint). *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture,* Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 117 – 118

Beglar, J.D. 1878/1966. 'Report of a Tour Through the Bengal Provinces of Patna, Gaya, Mongir, Bhagalpur, the Santal Pargana, Manbhum, Singhbhum, Birbhum, Bankura, Ranigunj.

Burdwan and Hugli in 1872-73. *Report – Archaeological Survey of India,* Vol. VIII, Varanasi: Indological Book House, 163 - 177

Bhattasali, N. K. 2008 (Reprint). *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum,* Dhaka: Bangladesh National Museum, 77 – 93

Chakrabarti, Dilip Kumar 1993. *Archaeology of Eastern India*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 79 - 81

Gopinath Rao, T. A. 1914. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 69 - 279

............................1971 (Second edition). *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part II, Varanasi: Indological Book House, 299 - 317

Huntington, Sussan L. 1984. *The "Pāla-Sena" Schools of Sculpture,* Leiden: E. J Brill

Imam, Bulu 2014. *Antiquarian Remains of Jharkhand*, Delhi: INTACH & Aryan Book International

O'Malley, L.S.S. 1910. *Bengal District Gazetteers – Singhbhum, Saraikela and Kharswan,* Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 227 – 228

Manuscript-copies Procuring Charges*

Charges for Indian Scholars

Sr. No.	Material	Handling Charge	Referring Charge	Digitization Charge	Using own Camera
1.	Paper Manuscript	Rs. 15/- (per MS)	Rs. 15/- (per MS)	Rs. 20/- (per page)	No Charges but the scholar has to submit one digitized copy of the work free of cost to the Institute
2.	Palm Leaf Manuscript	Rs. 30/- (per MS)	Rs. 30/- (per MS)	Rs. 40/- (per page)	No Charges but the scholar has to submit one digitized copy of the work free of cost to the Institute
3.	Illustrated Manuscript	Rs. 30/- (per MS)	Rs. 30/- (per MS)	Rs. 700/- per Exposure/ page	No Charges but the scholar has to submit one digitized copy of the work free of cost to the Institute

Charges for Non-Indian / Foreign Scholars

Sr. No.	Material	Handling Charge	Referring Charge	Digitization Charge	Using own Camera
1.	Paper Manuscript	Rs. 45/- (per MS)	Rs. 45/- (per MS)	Rs. 40/- (per page)	No Charges but the scholar has to submit one digitized copy of the work free of cost to the Institute
2.	Palm Leaf Manuscript	Rs. 90/- (per MS)	Rs. 90/- (per MS)	Rs. 80/- (per page)	No Charges but the scholar has to submit one digitized copy of the work free of cost to the Institute
3.	Illustrated Manuscript	Rs. 90/- (per MS)	Rs. 90/- (per MS)	Rs. 1400/- per Exposure/ page	No Charges but the scholar has to submit one digitized copy of the work free of cost to the Institute

Kindly note -

- **Copies can be delivered On-line or in CD/DVD** by registered Post- parcel/Courier or can be collected in person.
- **Money** can be **transferred** in the following Current Bank Account of **Oriental Institute**
  Bank : **Bank of Baroda** (Current Account at Dandia Bazar Branch, Vadodara)
  Account No. : 05780200000213
  Branch Code : BARB0DANDIA (Fifth Character is Zero)
  Swift Code : BARBINBBRM
- **Contact details of the Oriental Institute:**
  Phone No. : 0265-2425121
  E-Mail : director-oriental@msubaroda.ac.in
  Director's Mobile No. : 09898472669
- The five volumes of **'An Alphabetical List of Manuscripts'** available on **www.msubaroda.ac.in**

---

* Charges as per the Letter No. 289, dated 10.9.2012 of S.R. No.14, dated 31.07.2012

THE GRACE OF THE ANIMALS ON ROCK PAINTING DURING THE MESOLITHIC PERIOD

(WITH REFERENCE TO CHINTAKUNTA, KADAPA, ANDHRA PRADESH)

Barun Mandal*

Abstract: Art and culture lie on the historical background and its significance, which contains human settlements with their surroundings. The relationship between humans and animals it's coming from the prehistorical periods from western countries to the Indian context. How the ethnographic studies on animals painting on rock execute the diversity and multi-dimensional thoughts, which depends on typographical region, and its totemism, shamanism, genre lifestyle, captured in multi frames on rocks. The hidden gems are standing as they used to do for communication and from the belief systems. The hierarchy of animals still carries the taste of aesthetics. And with the connection of eight thousand years of history needs to recall its impact on contemporary art and cultural practices. This article explores the animals' paintings on the rock surfaces and their aesthetic value, technological approaches at the Chintakunta rock shelter, during the Mesolithic period at Chintakunta, and their significance.

Keywords: Animals, Mesolithic period, Pictography, Prehistory art, Rock Art & Shelter.

Introduction

The Chintakunta rock art is still difficult to access because of its location, located in Chintakunta Village, Muddunur Mandal, Kadapa, Andhra Pradesh, three

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 193, Vol. 72, 2023, pp. 211-226.

* Flat No. 101, Yeeshopretam Apartment, Opp. Eenadu News Paper Office, Alamkhan Palle, Kadapa, Andhra Pradesh, India, Pin: 516003; M. 7908002791, Email: mandal.barun0006@gmail.com

hundred meters high from the ground level, and the opposite direction of the rockya are a (Mandal, 2022). Chintakunta came on noticed by Dr. Erwin Neumayer's book 'Lines on stone'. And later explored by N Chandramouli from Pondicherry University and P C Venkatesh Subbaiaha from Dravidian university. (Koshy, Korisettar, and Rammoorthy 2005) (Polley, Banerjee, and Makal 2015) (Rock Paintings in Chintakunta, Kadapa. Namaste Kadapa, n.d.). This rock shelter considers as second largest rock art site in India, after Bhimbetka (Spandana harish 2017). Around fifteen rock art site were discovered still now like, cloud rock (Mabbu Gundu), Chinnavida Gundu[1] (small rock), Pidugu Gundu (thunder rock), Padugu Gundu[2] (rounded types), Vanam Gundu, Chilakala Gundu, umbrella rock (Gududu Gundu), Veddula Avula Gundu[3] (bulls and cows rock), Chinna Mabbu Gundu (lightened rock), Chembu Gundu, Dhanam Gundu, Mallelamma Gundu, Peddavida Gundu (big size rock), Sannasayana Gundu, and Kalam Gundu. (Spandana harish, 2017). The author has explored and identified with detail case studies on four places about their types of animals used, sizes, pigments, views, and purpose. Apart from the representation of the animals, the cultural fact explored with the case study in chintakunta rock art site which is having with two hundred paintings.

Aims and Objectives

- Understand and analyse the communication through visuographic illustration on rock surfaces by prehistoric people.
- The investigation of the existing research in a particular space has been assumed to contribute to the existing evidence.

---

[1] Gundu means Stone / Rock in Telugu language.

[2] Padugu Gundu (rounded types): Usually Uses by the farmers.

[3] Veddula / Evulu Avula Gundu stands forbulls and cow's rock.

- To expand a perception into the significance of using animals and their visual expressions in rock art at Chintakunta.

And the objectives of the study are-

- To explore the unexplored space of rock art areas from Chintakunta.
- To study the logical and comparative approaches of using types of animals.
- To understand the creative potential of the prehistoric artisans.
- To understand the anthropometric study in comparison with humans and other artifacts.

Area of Study

The focus area of the study is Chintakunta rock art shelter, a small village in the Cuddapah district, popularly known as YSR Kadapa in Andhra Pradesh, India. Around seventy-five kilometres from Kadapa city and two kilometres from the Chintakunta village at Muddunur Mandal, which was used around 6000 BC by the prehistoric people.

The author has explored the rock shelter areas with a local guide to examine the unmapped ancient rock art in the rock shelters, understand the creative potential of prehistoric artisans, analyse, and document the paintings, and bring awareness along with its art and cultural values in the front foot.

Types of Images

From the case study author founds gigantic scaled animals like a silhouetted elephant which stand bigger compared to other humans and animals like cows, buffalo, rabbits, fox/hyenas, a group of goats, decorated goats, humped cattle, a herd of deer's, hunting scenes, sexual lifestyle, reptiles, birds, geometric patterned design, weapons, zoomorphic images, and other usable accessories. Percentage of the animals shown on the rock as per the availability of the animals by that time in surroundings from where humped bulls and cows are more in numbers.

Projected Animals at Chintakunta

Before creating volume in the human figures on rocks, animals got values placed on size, expressions, and the approaches of realism. Understanding the value of daily life comes from the genre practices mostly depend on hunting simultaneously with harvesting. New discovered rock art site at Chintakunta, Kadapa, is having around a hundred animal paintings of different sizes which carries eight thousand years of cultural history.

All the animals have been shown in profile view. Causes to uphold the distance of placing the different sizes of animals there may be the reason for black magic[4] which is the superstitious belief of hunting as well for survival. The rock with only animals, facing toward the west, stands with the dimension of 20m x 7m, provides 4m shaded area, and is filled with animals and reptiles, which symbolized the depth of the habitation (N Chandramouli, 2002). The elephant drawing with a disproportionate trunk has placed 3m and the fox 4m above floor level, which attracts the viewers from a long distance.

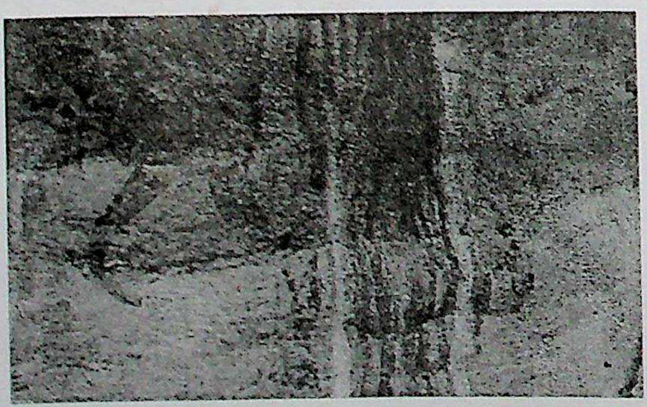


Fig-1: A Gigantic Elephant at Chintakunta

Fig-2: Hyena at Chintakunta

---

[4] Black Magic is a belief method of survive, hunting purpose.

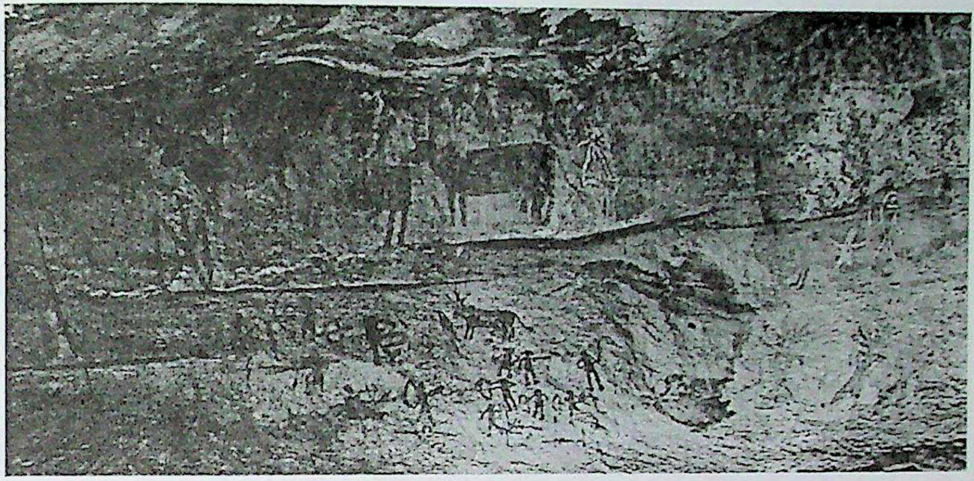


Fig-3: Comparative visual anthropometry on animals and Humans at Chintakunta

The surfaces of the rocks filled with cows and bulls (Veddula / Evulu Avula Gundu) appear with its aesthetics pleasure, consist a large number of paintings on small scale with red, light red, and white colours placed on the centre of this huge rock. Brown, red or light red derived from nodules of iron oxide during the Mesolithic period, which is considered the most used colour in traditional art practices in India (Erwin Neumayer, 1993). And to get the pigment artisans used iron oxide with water or tempera techniques or mixed it up with certain glutinous. The organic binding glutinous is palpable and endured for ages. The application of colour had been done on raw and rough surfaces in liquid form in a flat wash.

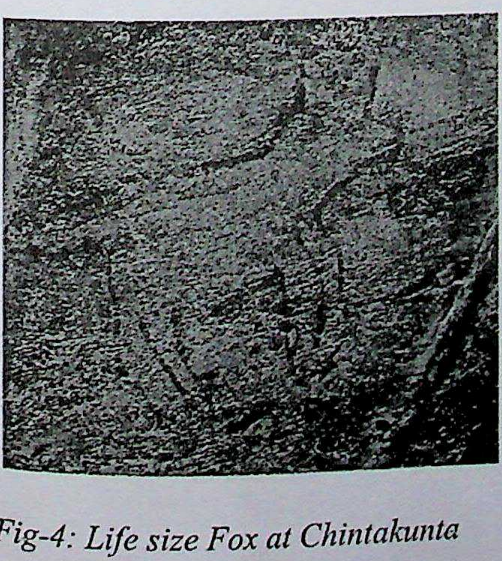


Fig-4: Life size Fox at Chintakunta

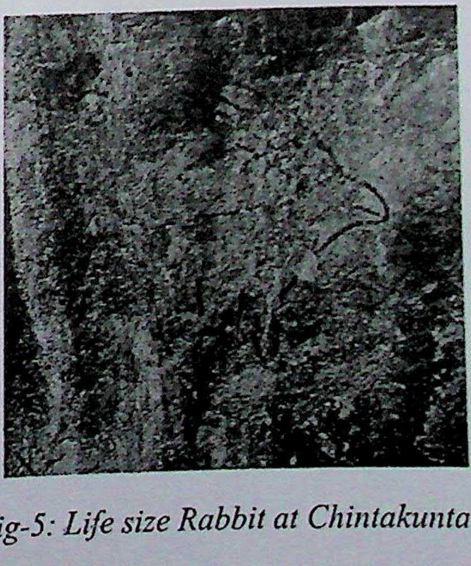


Fig-5: Life size Rabbit at Chintakunta

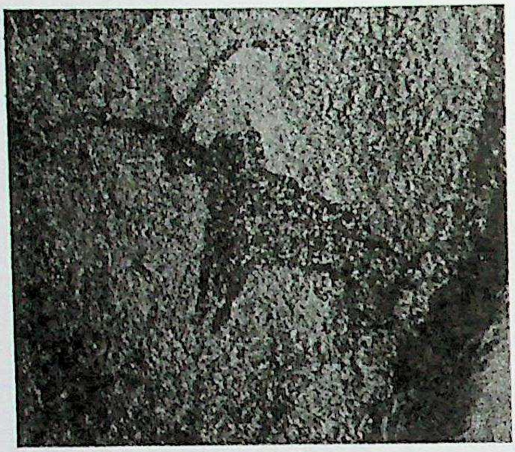


Fig-6: The Humped Bull at Chintakunta

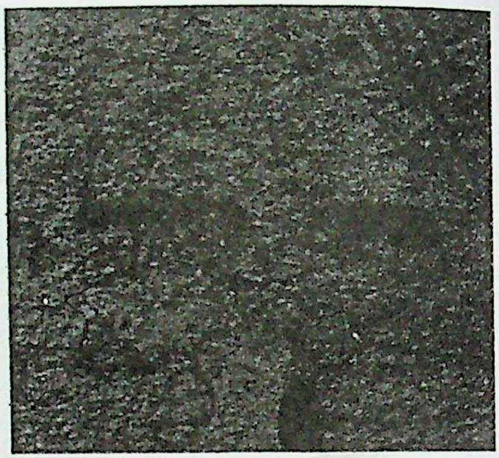


Fig-7: Herd from Chintakunta

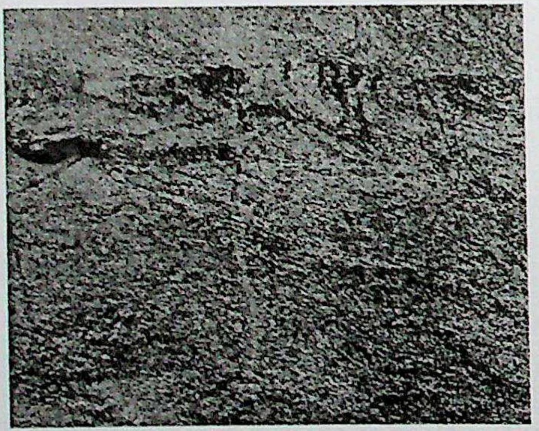


Fig-8: Goats from Chintakunta

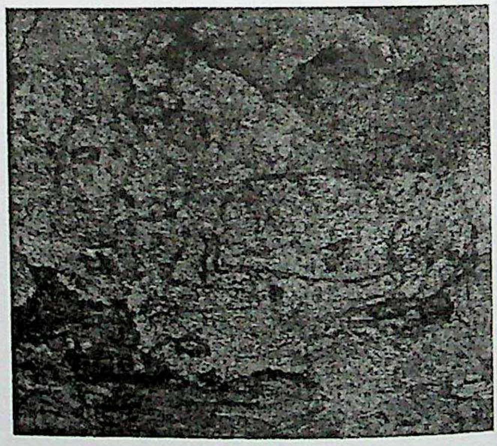


Fig-9: Goat during neolithic age, Chintakunta

Apart from the symbols, body parts of the animals still existing with horns without heads, and legs, might capture the hunted scene. Deer's multiple numbers of humped bulls along with gender identity shown as its sturdy. Even though disconformities has been shown for one-humped bulls where three legs are standing while the hind leg is in a hanging position. And in terms of colour red, red ochre, white has been used as per the compositional need. Sometimes bold line drawings filled the shapes with red colour which are small in size consider the availability or the using rock surfaces as volume. Deers, fox, rabbit, are good in condition.

As per the counted rock shelters in particular area where ancient people communicated their thoughts, emotions, and expression through rocks, carries the history of culture, habitations, and belief systems with ethics and aesthetics.

Summary list at Chintakunta rock art site (as per the author investigation on exiting pictographs):

Types of Pictographs							
Categories	**Identified Images**		**Period**	**Size**	**Representation**	**Colour / Pigment**	**Proportion in Percentage**
Artefacts	Animals	Elephant	Late Mesolithic	100cm x 70cm. (approx.)	Naturalistic / realistic. Body field with colours	Dark Brown (Burnt umber)	2%
		Fox / Hyena	Early Mesolithic/ Mesolithic	Life size	Naturalistic with movement. Bold out lines	Red/ Brown	5%
		Deer	Mesolithic	51cm x 51cm, 15cm x 5cm	Naturalistic with geometrical shape/ Thin line with movement	Red/ Brown	10%
		Goat	Mesolithic	46cm x 35cm	Naturalistic with Thin out line	Red/ Brown	12%
		Cows	Mesolithic	10cm x 20cm	Naturalistic. filled with colour	Red/ Brown / light Red	15%

		Bulls	Mesolithic	15cm x 16cm	Naturalistic. Filled with colour	Red/ Brown	15%
		Rhino	Mesolithic	10cm x 6cm	Naturalistic. Bold out lines	Red/ Brown	5%
		Reptiles	Mesolithic	30cm	Naturalistic. Bold out lines	-	10%
	Humans		Early Mesolithic/ Mesolithic	Big: 40cm x 35 cm Small: 4cm x 6cm	Movement with outlines with line weight / Filled colours / Solid form	Dark Brown (Burnt umber) / light Red / White	18%
	Design / Geometric		Early Mesolithic/ Mesolithic	7cm x 10cm	Out lines with line weight	Red/ Brown	5%
	Weapons		Mesolithic		Shape out line	Red/ Brown	3%
Gender Equalization	Animals		Mesolithic	-	-	-	50%
	Man		Mesolithic	-	-	-	35%
	Women		Mesolithic/ Late Mesolithic	-	-	-	15%
Colour Application	-		-	-	-	Red/ Brown	90%
	-		-	-	-	White	10%
Pathways	Within range		-	-	-	-	20%
	Difficult		-	-	-	-	30%
	Deep forest		-	-	-	-	50%

Literature review

The aesthetics of rock painting mentioned by Percy Brown (Principal from Govt. College of Art and Craft, Calcutta) in his authoritative work on Indian Paintings (Mitra, 1923). Panchanan Mitra mentioned in his book 'Prehistoric India' (page no - 22) about the Palaeolithic and neolithic culture at Cuddapah. And the periodization of this particular place was identified as the Mesolithic time period by Erwin Neumayer, Chandramouli N.

V. H. Sonawane points out art practices that goading themselves or persuade their atmosphere and the reflection of the cultural practices (Sonawane, 2013). Most of the exiting pictographs from Chintakunta site have done during the Mesolithic to late Mesolithic period. And it is the most stylistic phase for rock art practices in India (Erwin Neumayer, 1993). The hunting scenes with naturalistic and realistic approaches with movement and poses have been depicted in this period, according to Art historians and Archaeologists. The relationship between man and animals is portrayed in the direction of time beings. Animals are more powerful than humans in all manners and importance is given to animals in terms of size, expression, boldness, and execution in height. X-ray depictions in the Mesolithic period is a characterization that bought the value of aesthetics with the handle of space and volume of the surfaces. Geometric shape of male and female figures leads to abstraction in the early stages which changed by adding curves and the shape of the bulky box shape, patterns within the body bring changes for artisans. Chandramouli mentioned in his book 'The Rock Art in South India' that the characteristic features of humped bulls used in Chintakunta during the neolithic ages in south India (N Chandramouli, 2002) compared to Kethavaram, Dupadugattu and Sanganunpalli, early paintings are in big size whereas Chintakunta has refined, superimposed and placed in higher spaces.

From Bhimbetka to Chintakunta, weapons depict the war scenes, hunting scenes, social solidarity, communication, exchange of information, ritual practices, worship for all the reasons animals were in the central. (Erwin Neumayer, 1993). N Chandramouli also includes in his treatise 'Rock Art of Andhra Pradesh' who disagrees with the concept of centralization of Euro-centric origins of rock art and urged that the evaluation has been improved by natural cognition around the world (Navuluri Chandramouli, 2013). The cultural resources of the past early civilization known through the thematic description of distinct pictographs (E Neumayer, 2011). N Chandramouli divided this site into three phases where by the appearance of images, symbols, and script and, the four phases by its theme, stylistic, colour scheme, and superimposition. (N Chandramouli, 2002). Shift from liquefied imaginary to hunter wrinkles to static figures with red and white colours in the Andhra Pradesh region (Blinkhorn et al. 2012).

Analytical studies and its significance

Surveys were done before the theoretical analysis of arithmetical data at Chintakunta, where Mesolithic behaviour has been identified by the painting's approaches and its characteristic approaches. At the same time, some neolithic tools, scrapers, etc. discovered from the neolithic ages too. Compared to western cave paintings differ in their realistic approaches along with belief systems of black magic.

With the help of a theoretical, case study with local guide Mr. Obaiha, the author found the significance of the site along with its landscape and position of the animals on rock, and its visibility. The significance of line weight in prehistory time is used in a multidimensional way. Catching the emotions in a realistic manner rather than imagination. Wind up the thoughts and beliefs in a single surface centralized the cultural and ritual practices of the surrounding peoples. As all the shelters are not in single frames. Choosing the location and site is given importance from where they used ceiling for sexual activities, side rock surfaces for war scenes, and particularly for animals, they have used a bit upper from the stand level. For the empathetic narration, used images measurements have been taken. Depiction of the scenes by various sizes deals with the aesthetics of composition making, space handling, and self-realization. And the definition of 'Art' changed by its appearance while using the mentioned elements. Uses of anthropometrics, scale, and proportion are still valid for product design and creative art practices. Using rock surface as a volume in Chintakunta is less compared to Lascus and Altamira in Spain. animals are natural whereas Bhimbetka appears with dramatic actions, with organ details, like cave no 3, 6, 15, 18 (Kakkar, 2020). Animals' paintings may be categorized into three stages natural representation or naturalistic, realistic, and decorative in all aspects such as colour application and sizes. Decorative animals like Goat are found in fewer numbers which are accessible by the people. The evidence of pre to protohistory, ancient to medieval and modern art till exists in Cuddaph (Manohar, 1993).

Present Situation

The rock structure in the village is big and composed of Pulivendla quartzite with having fine-grained texture in white colour, covered by scrub forest and thick spiky bushes. 'Jinkalakuntala[5]' still exists and is used by deer, especially in the summer time.

Archaeological survey of India declared the Chintakunta rock art site a national heritage and because of the lack of maintenance site is affected by natural disasters. Awareness about this place still brings the gap to know about this site which is a rocky and forest area. There is no particular way to reach the location smoothly. As Obaiah, a local villager argues a large number of foxes, porcupines, deer's, monkeys, honeycombs, reptiles, rabbit, and deer still exist in this particular location. Still, some areas of rock shelter need to rediscover, Obaiah added (Mandal, 2022) As per Andhra Pradesh honourable High court's order in December 2020, local mining has stopped from all directions of hundred meters ("Pretition Archelogy" n.d.).

---

[5] Jinkalakuntala means water holes of the deer.

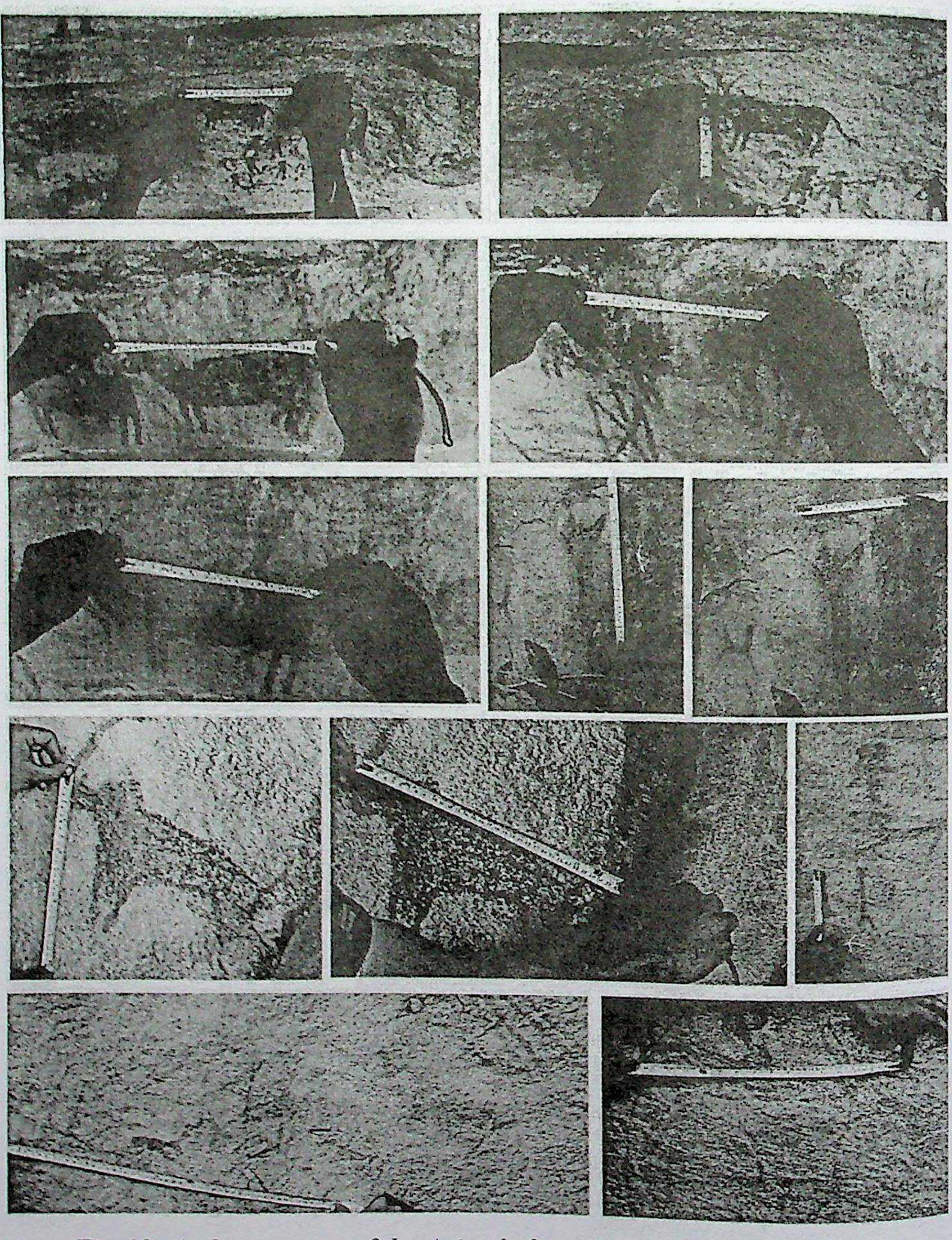


Fig-10: Anthropometry of the Animals from Chintakunta Rock Shelter.

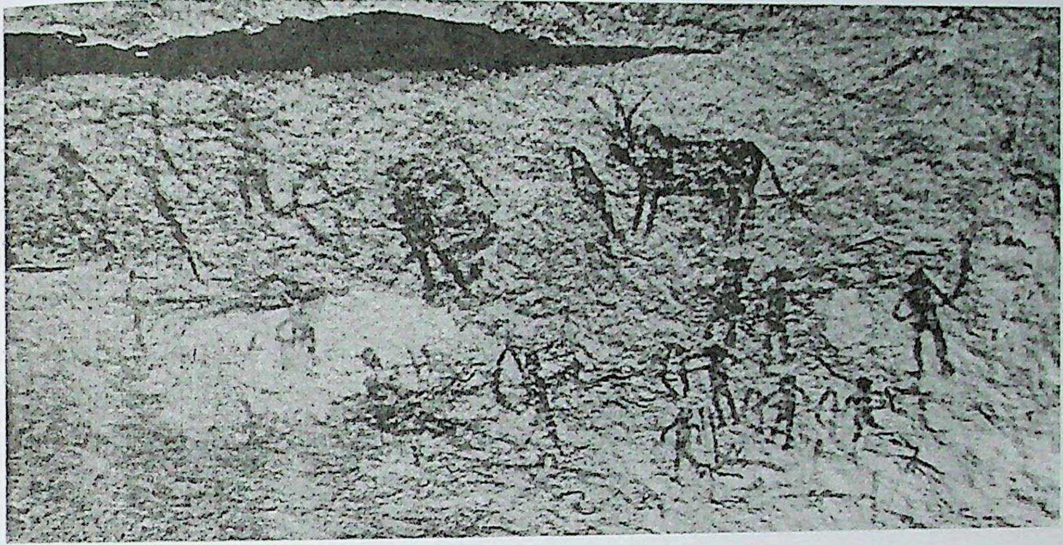


Fig-11: Centralised humped bull from Chintakunta.

(Note: Copyrights of the photographs belong to the author.)

Conclusion

In terms of the preservation of the Chintakunta site, four are accessible by anyone, precautions, directions; signages are not available till now. After documented by Erwin Neumayer in his book 'Lines on stone - (1993)' and N. Chandramouli-'Rock Art in South India - (2002)', and also contri buted by some research scholars about this location, the Archeological Survey of India brought it under national heritage, only for three rocks (viz, CTK-2, CTK-3, CTK-4 for artifacts) and two more (CTK-1 and CTK-5 for ceiling paintings) have been mentioned along with 352 artifacts (Govt of India, n.d.).

The inventions in rock art are directed in reinforced parameters in broader perception including the ages like Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, and Neolithic where the animal is more used for showing artistic skill as well cultural motivation on rock surfaces. Evaluating rock art in the contemporary which engaged with the ethnographic, archaeology, and geographical barriers around Chintakunta needs to be explored more apart from the theoretical knowledge and its perception through case studies. The graphical representation of communication, survival and cultural exploration, belief in black magic, spirituality, and genre life in ancient times leads the abstraction through primitivism, tribal art, and modern art practices which shows the relations between nature, humans, and animals. It is believed that rock art is a manifestation of hominoid inhabitation and settlement. Animals still stand with grace and attitude which appears as a protector of nature. And in the current situation, it's under threat from natural disasters, the rapid growth of shrubs and vines near artifacts, mud nests, and bats. To bring the exuberance, this second largest rock art site in India needs more emphasis on the huge space of this site like mobilized evidence, work on surface protection and preservation, guidance with security, pathways with signages, etc. To tenacity or formulate this rock art site- ethnographical identity, archaeology, and typological documentation (Blinkhorn, 2016). In the Indian traditional attitude, the history of tribal art relates to rock art (Chakraverty, 2009) and contemporary identity of art and culture has been dominated by rock art and the representation of the animals.

References

Blinkhorn James. 2016. "Rock Art Research in India 2010 - 2014." *Rock Art Studies: News of the World V*, no. 2012: 155–62. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvxrq0fv.16.

Blinkhorn James, Nicole Boivin, Paul S. C. Taçon, and Michael D. Petraglia. 2012. "Rock Art Research in India: Historical Approaches and Recent Theoretical Directions." *A Companion to Rock Art*, no. July: 179–96. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118253892.ch11.

Chakraverty Somnath. 2009. "Interpreting Rock Art in India: A Holistic and Cognitive Approach." *XXIII Valcamonica Symposium* 91: 94–107.

Chandramouli N. 2002. *Rock Art of South India*. First. Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 48-74.

Chandramouli Navuluri. 2013. *Rock Art of Andhra Pradesh: A New Synthesis,*. IGNCA, New Delhi, 1.

Erwin Neumayer. 1993. *Lines on Rock.*, Manohar Publishers & Distrubutors, 123.

Govt of India. n.d. "National Mission on Monuments and Antiquities." IAR. http://nmma.nic.in/nmma/builtDetail.do?refId=6464&state=28.

Kakkar Abhinav. 2020. "Paintings of a Time." 2020. https://www.outlookindia.com/traveller/mp/visual-escape/photo-gallery/paintings-of-a-time/.

Koshy Jinu, Ravi Korisettar, and Ajay Kumar Rammoorthy. 2005. "ROCK ART FROM UPPALAPADU-CHENNAKKAPALLE COMPLEX, KURNOOL DISTRICT View Project No More Stones and More Stones: Current Debates in Indian Prehistory View Project." https://www.researchgate.net/publication/332094366.

Mandal Barun. 2022. "Visual Rhetoric on Rock During Mesolithic Period at Chintakunta, Kadapa, Andhra Pradesh, India." *International Journal of Language, Literature and Culture (IJLLC)* 2 (3): 32–39. https://doi.org/10.22161/ijllc.

Manohar Erwin Neumayer. 1993. *Lines on stone -The Prehistoric Rock Art of India.*, Manohar Publishers & Distrubutors, 135-160.

Mitra Panchanan. 1923. *Prehistoric India.* Calcutta: Calcutta University. https://ia601706.us.archive.org/0/items/in.gov.ignca.13594/13594.pdf.

Neumayer E. 2011. *Rock Art of India, the Prehistoric Cave- Art of India.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 152.

Neumayer Erwin. 1993. *Lines on Stone _ the Prehistoric Rock Art of India-.* 1st Edition, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 43.

Polley Krishnendu, Abhradip Banerjee, and Arun Makal. 2015. "Relations between Rock Art and Ritual Practice: A Case Study from Eastern India." *Archaeological Research in Asia* 3 (July): 34–48. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ara.2015.04.001.

"Pretition Archelogy." n.d. Accessed on December 30, 2020. https://pcb.ap.gov.in/APPCBDOCS/Tenders_Noti//P Venkata Siva Reddy.pdf.

Sonawane, V.H. 2013. *Rock Art of Asia: An Overview. The World of Rock Art: An Overview of the Five Continents.* IGNCA, New Delhi, 96. Spandana Harish. 2017. "Second Largest Rock Art Site in India." *The Hindu*, November 17, 2017, 5.

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE CHOWLIKERE'S VIJAYANAGARA INSCRIPTION IN BARKUR

Gowrish R Prabhu*

Abstract: In the 15th Century, the Vijayanagara sovereignty ruled over the coastal region of Karnataka known as Tulunadu, the Land of Tuluvas, hence the capital Barkur. This is evident through sources such as the inscriptions in the Chowlikere temple. This selected inscription describes a past celebratory event in the temple that occurred in the 15th century CE. The purpose of this review is to draw attention to the errors in the inscription readings and the resulting issues with the genealogy. This study will demonstrate the alternative method for reading the inscription and will clearly elucidate the errors in previous publications. It also records the donation to the deity Ganesh, the empire's ruler, and the province administrators back then. It provides us with brief overviews of the city's religious, political, economic, and social aspects.

Keywords: Chowlikere, Barkur, Tulunadu, Vijayanagara, Devaraya III.

Epigraphy is deciphering graphemes, reconstructing phrases or sentences, articulating the pronunciation, clarifying their meanings, classifying their function based on dates and cultural contexts, and drawing conclusions about writing and writers. Inscriptions are an important source for the reconstruction of medieval Indian political and cultural history. Generally, any historical information is acknowledged as authentic when it is substantiated by an epigraphical record. There are many limitations to it due to techniques of study, errors by inscriber, etc. Some misreads or misinterpretations that happened in the past, may change or challenge common information such as timeline, nature, etc., that is rightly interpreted elsewhere. This may lead to some obscurities. In such cases, it might be within the purview of the present researchers and scholars to restudy such inscriptions.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 193, Vol. 72, 2023, pp. 227-246

* Dave villa, Behind KG Naik villa, Opposite Rosary Church, Pratapgunj, Vadodara, 390002, M: 9900994930, Email : gowrish2000@gmail.com

Generally, the king keeps a copy of his publicised order. It could be written on copper plates, palm leaves, stone slabs, boulders (if placed in public places) and many other mediums, to be preserved for future administrator's reference.[1]

Geographical Background

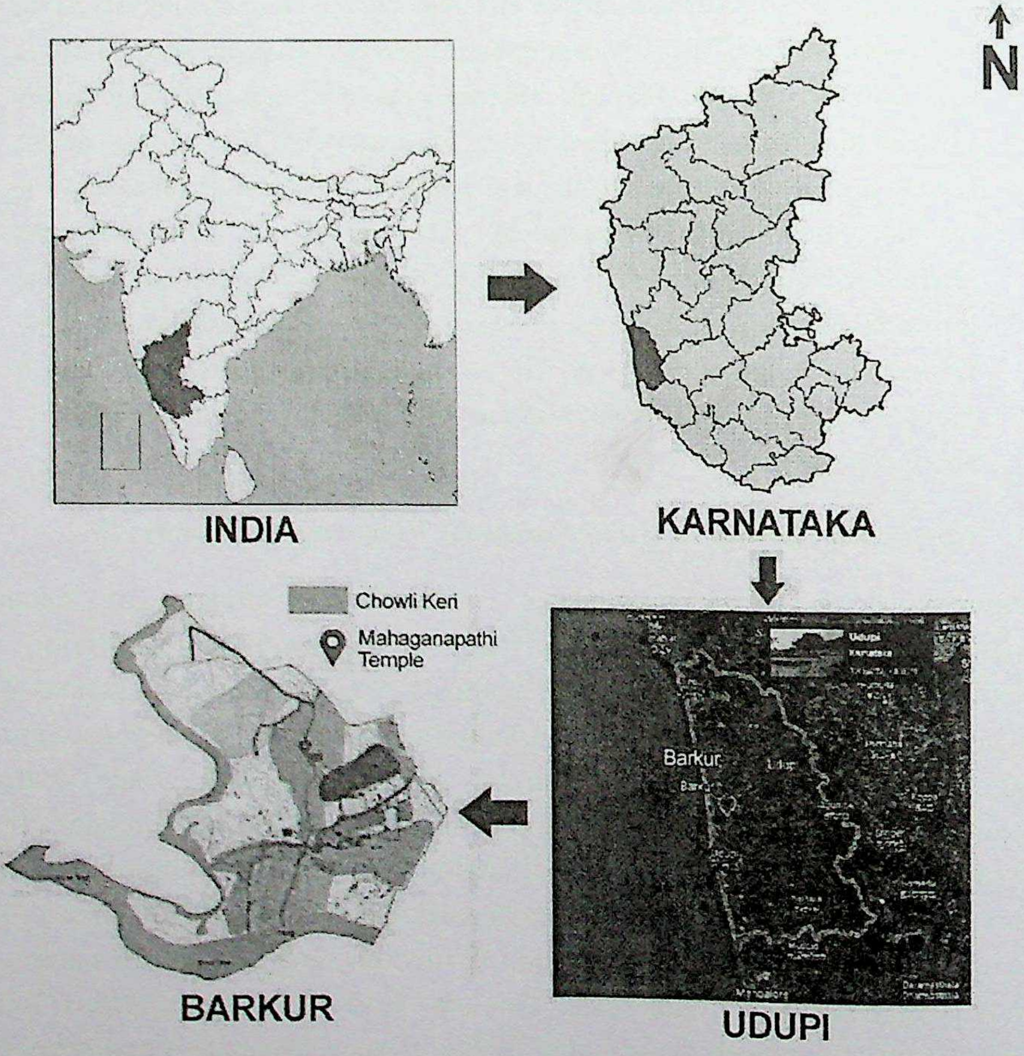

N
INDIA
KARNATAKA
Chowli Keri
Mahaganapathi Temple
Udupi
Karnataka
Barkur
BARKUR
UDUPI

Figure 1: Geographical location of Chowlikeri and Mahāganapati temple in India [map] (Modified from source: maps of India; Google earth; Raj et al.)

The temple where the inscription is being studied is in the ancient capital Barakuru (Co-ordinates 13.466940 N, 74.753423 E), in the Brahmavara taluk a of Karnataka's Udupi District (Figure 1). Barakuru is now a town in Udupi that consists of three villages (Hosala, Hanehalli, and Kachur). Geographically, the Udupi district is located in the coastal plains of coastal Karnataka, which is separated from the Mysore Plateau by the Western Ghats. It is located on the bank of River Sītā. It is also known as the "town of 1000 temples" (Kundapura, 2019). There are numerous monuments and archaeological remains in ruins in Barakuru. It is 16 kilometres and 19 kilometres from the bustling "Temple town" of Udupi and cosmopolitan Manipal, respectively. It is also situated 5 kilometres east, interior into the land from the Arabian Sea coast (Raj & Rao, 2019, 1467-77).

The Sītā River rises in the Western Ghats and flows through Barakuru before emptying into the Arabian Sea at Basarur, another port town in past. It has a broad estuary, but sand deposition by the tributaries of Seetha joins it on the estuary's edge has resulted in the formation of narrow sand barș on either side of the river's mouth, only to open a small passage that provided a safe harbour for ships to dock inside. The river here is in the braided course forming sand bars of which many are now stabilised and inhabited.

The strategic geographical location of Barakuru helped it emerge as an important political and economic hub during the Alupa period. It became an important "Entrepot" for local as well as foreign trade. "Jami-al- tawarikh" of Rashid-al-Din Hamadani (1310 AD) states that Barakuru was a town in the 10th century and it was well known to Arab traders. According to Frowde, an Arabian traveller who visited India in the 14th century, Ibn Battuta, also mentioned trade in Barakuru. Frowde also mentions Ibn Batuta, describing Barakuru as Fakanur and as a large town on an inlet where he discovered an abundance of sugar canes unparalleled in the rest of India (Frowde; 1908).

Chowlikeri – The Town's Extension

ChowliKeri is in Tulunadu's heart land Barkur. It is one of the oldest extensions of then Alupa capital. Tulunadu was under the sovereign rule of Vijayanagara Empire in the 15th century CE (Bhat 2008). Meghana K Rao and Rajshekar Raoś work (2019) refers to claims of the origin of the name, attempting to associate it with the Chola occupation of Tulunadu or after the hill called *Chaulibettu* or infer the derivation of the name *Chowli* from the region's cloths business, where cloths are referred to as '*Javali*'. Their work insists that this extension was of textile merchants, and the goods brought to Barakuru from the upper Ghat regions were to be sold there. Apart from that, it was a Jainism centre, and other local religious activity is said to have happened here during the Vijayanagara period (Rao et al, 2019, 1467-77).

An inscription discovered on the author's fieldwork mentions *'Mahā Chowli.'* This could be the name or title of a prominent member of the merchant community/royal household who had settled in this *keri* (extension), or it could directly refer to the deity of the sanctum as a title. The name is also similar to the Tulu word *'Chauli,'* which means cold or cool, and could have referred to the condition of the water in the tank/lake opposite the temple.

Chowlikeri Inscriptions

There are many inscriptions in the Chowlikeri region, most of them concentrated around the Mahāgaṇapati temple complex opposite the Chowlikere tank (Figure 3 – Mahāgaṇapati shrine). This study is mainly based on the 15th-century inscription recorded as general no.336 in South Indian inscriptions series, volume VII (Aiyer 1932). It is a donative inscription, sub-classified as *Devālaya dāna* or temple donation.

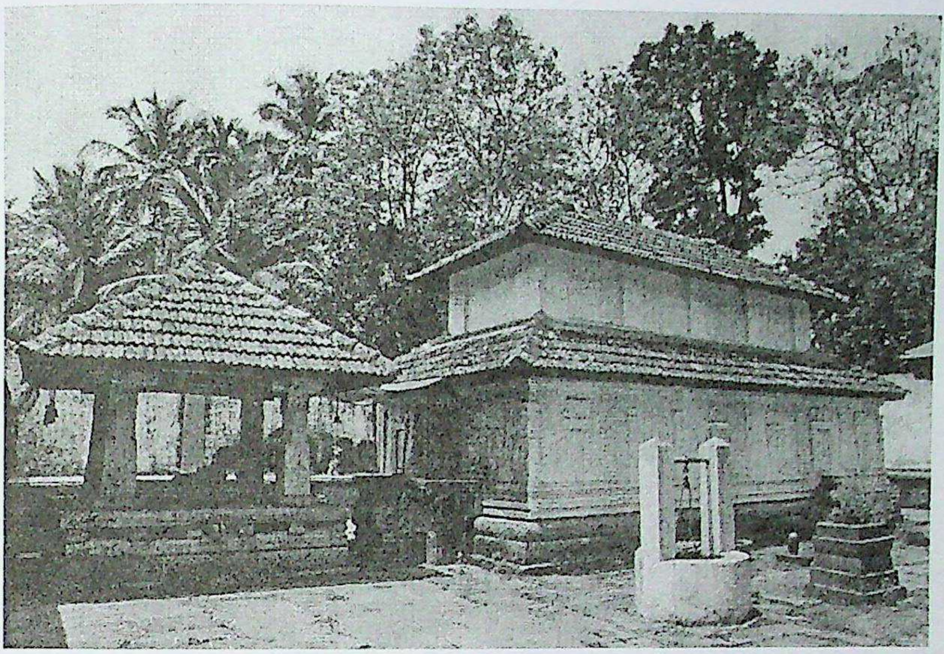


Figure 2: Mahāliṅgeśwara Shrine inside the temple

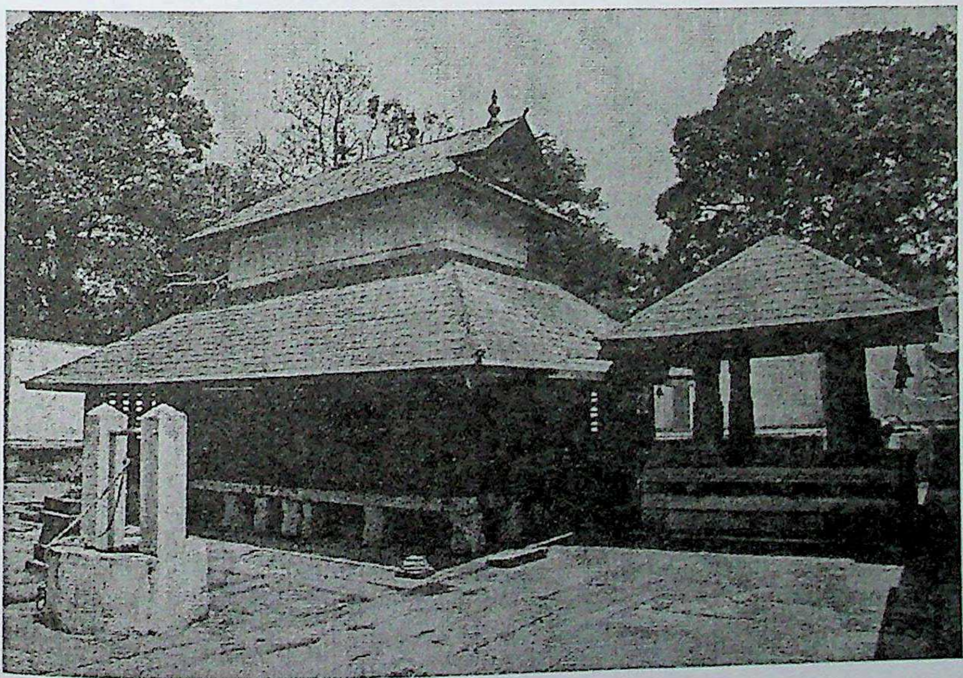


Figure 3: Sri Mahāgaṇapati Temple (Main Shrine), Chowlikere Temple

Location of the Inscription

The specific location of the inscription is on the right side of the sanctum of the Mahāliṅgeśwara deity (figure 2) on a newly made platform along with other six inscriptions (figure 4) in the Mahāgaṇapati temple of Chowlikeri. It is facing the North and the geographical coordinates of the inscription are $13^0$28.5200'N $74^0$45.1070'E. It is not in its original context, as it was relocated here during the renovation of the temple in the recent past.

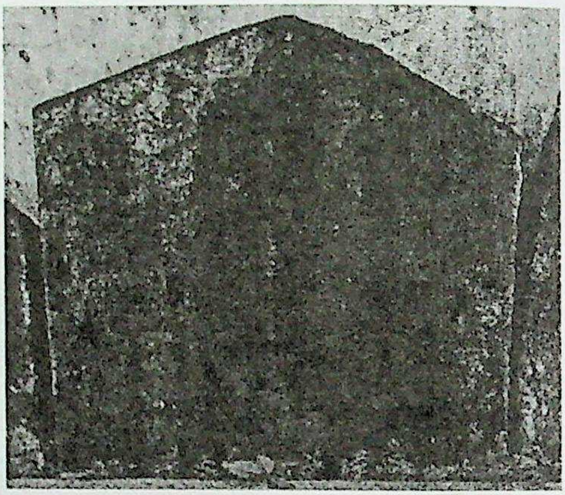


Figure 4: The group of inscriptions to the left of the Mahāliṅgeśwara shrine in the temple complex

Condition

The inscription is inscribed on a granite stone slab. It is moderately engraved. Mild weathering of the slab has taken place. Apart from a few ambiguous letters, most of them are recognizable and readable. No major damage has been observed on the written surface. A thin layer of dirt had accumulated on the inscription which had to be scrubbed away gently (Figure 5). Following the scrub wash, the wet scribed face of the inscription was gently whitened with chalk. It was then wiped off with a sponge to remove the excess chalk, leaving the chalk white only on the surface where the letter incisions remained with the dirt or patina appearing to be darker in the inscription's face. This improved the readability of the letters (difference as seen in figure 5 to figure 6).

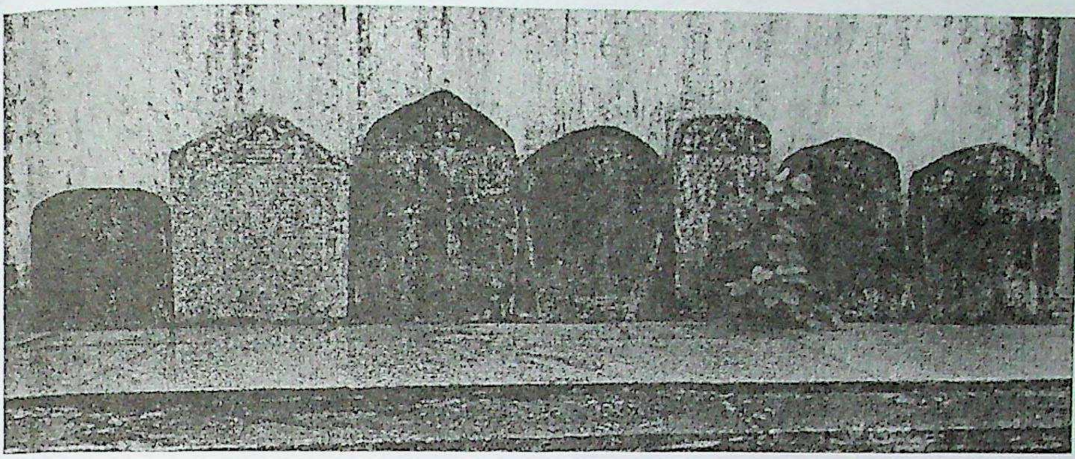


Figure 5: State of the inscription before it was washed

Morphological Characteristics

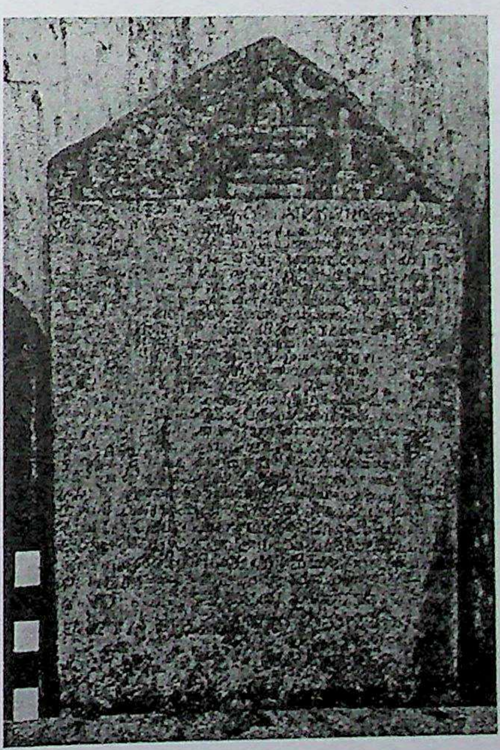


Figure 6: Inscription from the Vijayanagara period, 15th century, beside Mahāliṅgeśwara shrine of Mahāgaṇapati temple, Chowlikeri, Barakuru.

The Inscription (Figure 6) measures 105 in height, 65 in width, and 24 in thickness in units of a centimetre. The face of the inscription is divided into upper and lower parts. The upper part depicts *Śivaliṅga* in the middle, flanked by the sun and moon on the top left and the top right respectively, *Nandī* (Bull) on the left, *Dīpastambha* (Lampstand) and *Katthi* (Dagger) on the right and the extreme right respectively.

The lower part comprises of a 27 lines inscription, written in Sanskrit and Kannada languages in the 14th-16th CCE Vijayanagara *arasa* script.

Date

The date is mentioned in the 2nd and 3rd lines of the inscription (Figure 6). It reads the year 1381 *Bahudhānya* samvatsara following the *Śaka* calendar, *Bahula* 12th of *Mārgaśīrṣa* month i.e., December 18th, 1459 in the Gregorian calendar.

Text of the inscription: (Eye-copy of the Fig. 6 with accordance to the lines)

1. ಶ್ರೀಗಣಾಧಿಪತಯೇ ನಮ: ॥ ಅವಿಘ್ನ ಮಸ್ತು । ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಶಿರಶ್ಚುಂಬಿಚಂದ್ರಚಾಮರಚಾರವೇ (।*) ತ್ರೈ-

2. ಲೋಕ್ಯನಗರಾರಂಭಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಶಂಭವೇ (॥*) ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀ (॥*) ಜಯಾಭ್ಯುದಯ ಶಕವರುಷ 1380 ಸಂ-

3. ದು ಯಂಭತ್ತವೊಂದನೆಯ ವರ್ತ್ತಮಾನ ಬಹುಧಾನ್ಯ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಮರ್ಗಶಿರ ಬ 12 ಆ ಲೂ । ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಾ-

4. ಧಿರಾಜ ರಾಜಪರಮೇಶ್ವರ ಶ್ರೀ ವೀರಪ್ರತಾಪ ಯಿ(ಂ)ಮ್ಮಡಿದೇವರಾಯ ಮಹಾರಾಯರೂ ವಿದ್ಯಾನಗ-

5. ರಿಯ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಲೂ ಯಿದು ಸಕಲಸಾಂಬ್ರಾಜ್ಯವನಾಳಿ ವರ್ನಾಶ್ರಮಧರ್ಮಗಳನ್ನು ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಲಿಸುಕಾಲ ದ-

6. ಲು ಅವರ ನಿರೂಪದಿಂದ ಬಾರಕೂರ ರಾಜ್ಯವನೂ ಗುರುವಪ್ಪಒಡೆಯ ರಾಳುವ ಕಾಲದಲೂ ಚೋಳಿಯಕೇರ್ಯ್ಯ

7. [ಕೆಲ್ಲಂ] ಗೆಜೆಯ ವಿನಾಯ್ಕದೇವರ ದಿವ್ಯಶ್ರೀಪಾದಸದಂಗಳಿಗೂ ಅಯಿವರೂ ಹಲರಿಗೂ ವಿಜಾ[ನ]ಗರಿಯ ಹಿರಿ-

8. ಯ ಅರಮನೆಯ ಕಾಮವಟ್ಟದ ವಲ್ಲಭದೇವಗಳೂ ದೇವರ ಧರ್ಮಕ್ಕೆ ದಾನಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವ್ಯಕವಾಗಿ ಆಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕ್ಕಸ್ಥಾ-

9. ಯಿಯಾಗಿ ಬರದು ನಟ್ಟ ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನದ್ದೆ ಕ್ರಮವೆಂತೆಂದರೆ ದೇವರಾಯಮಹಾರಾಯರು ನಮಗೆ ದಾನಧಾ-

10. ರಾಪೂರ್ವಕವಾಗಿ ಧಾ[ರೆ]ಯ ನರದು ನಾಲೂ ಬದ್ದು ಬಂದ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮದಾಯ ಮೂಲ ರಾಜಾದಿಕಂನ್ಯಾನದವೂರಲ್ಲಿ ನಮಗೆ

11. ಶಾಸನಸ್ಥವಾಗಿ ನಡದು ಬಹ ಕುಳದ ಹೊಂನಿನಒಳಗೆ ವಿನಾಯ್ಕದೇವರ ಧರ್ಮಕ್ಕೆ ಆಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕ್ಕಸ್ಥಾಯಿಯಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿದ್ದು ಬಾ-

12. ರಕೂರ ಪರಿವ[ವ್ರ]ಕ್ಕೆ ಸಲ್ಲುವ ಕಾಟಿ ಗ 70 ಹೊನ್ನು ಅಕ್ಷರದಲ್ಲೂ ಕಾಟಿ ಗದ್ಯಾಣ ಯಪ್ಪತ್ತು ಹೊಂನನೂ ಆ

13. ಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕ್ಕಸ್ಥಾಯಿಯಾಗಿ ದೀವಳಿಗೆಯಹಬ್ಬದ ಮೂಱುದಿನದ್ಧರ್ಮಕೆ ನಡಿಸಿಕೊಟ್ಟು ಬಹೆವು ಆ

14. ವೂರಿಗೆ ಆರು ಅನುಸರಿ ವೊತ್ತಿದರೆ ಹಲರೂ ಆ ವೊತ್ತನೂ ಕಾದು ಆ ವಿನಾಯ್ಕದೇವರಿಗೆ ನೀಉ ಮಾಡಿದ ದೀವಳಿ

15. ಗೆಯ ಹಬ್ಬದ ಮೂಱುದಿನ ದೀಪೋತ್ಸಹದ ಧರ್ಮವನೂ ನಡಿಸಿಕೊಂಬಿಗೆಂದು ವೊಡಂಬಟ್ಟು ಬರದು

16. ನಟ್ಟ ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನ [।*] ಯೀ ಶಾಸನಕ್ಕೆ ರಾಜಾದಿಕಂನ್ಯಾನದ ನಾಲೂವೂರ ಹಂನೆರಡುಮಂದಿ ಜನನಿ

17. ಗಳು ಯಿಬ್ಬರು ಹೊರಹಿನನವರು ಅಯಿವತ್ತೆರಡು ಒಕ್ಕಲುಗಳು ವೊಡಂಬಟ್ಟು ಮಾಡಿ[ದ*] ಧರ್ಮಶಾಸನ

18. ಆ ಕರ್ತ್ತರು ವಲ್ಲಭದೇವರಸರ ಒಪ । ಶ್ರೀ ಸೋಮನಾಥದೇವರು ವೂರ ಹಂನೆರಡು ಮಂದಿ ಜನನಿಗಳ ವೊಪ್ಪ

19. ಗುಭಿಕೋ[ಣ] ವಾಸುದೇವರು ಬಂಕಿಹಗ್ಗಡೆಯ ಒಪ್ಪ ರಾಜಾದಿಯ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮರು ಆಂಣಹೆಗ್ಗಡೆಯ ಒಪ್ಪ [।]

20. ______ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮರು ಆಇವತ್ತೆರಡು ವೊಕ್ಕಲ ಒಪ್ಪ ವಾಸುದೇವರು ಚೋಳಿಯಕೇರ್ಯ್ಯ ಆಯಿವರು ಹಲರೂ

21. (ಹಲರೂ) ವಲ್ಲಬದೇವರಸರಿಗೆ ಮೂಲವಾಗಿ ಧಾರೆಯ ನೆಱದುಕೊಟ್ಟ ಮನೆಯ ಚತು

22. [ಸೀ]ಮೆಯ ವಿವರ ಮೂಡಲು ಪಂಡಿತರ ಗಡಿಯಿಂದಂ ಪಡುವಲು ತೆಂಕಲು ಆಗ್ರಹಾ-

23. ರದಿಂ ಬಡಗಲು ಪಡುವಲು ರಾಜಬೀದಿಯಿಂದಂ ಮೂಡಲು ಬಡಗಲು [ಚೈ]ಣಂ

24. ಗಳ ಗಡಿಯಿಂದಂ ತಂಕಲು ಯಿಂತೀ ಚತುಸ್ಸೀಮೆಯ ಒಳಗುಳ ಮನೆಯನು ಮೂ-

25. ಲವಾಗಿ ಧಾರೆಯ ನೆಱದು ಕೊಡುವುದೆಂದು ಬರದು ನಟ್ಟ ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನ ॥

26. ದಾನಪಾಲನಯಾ ಮದೇ ದಾನಾ ಛ್ರೇಯೋನುಸಾಲನ [।*] ದಾನಾ ಸ್ವರ್ಗ್ಗಮವಾ-

27. ಪ್ನೋತಿ ಪಾಲನಾದಚುತ[ಂ*] ಪದಂ [॥*] ಶುಬಮಸ್ತು । ಮ[ಂ*]ಗಳ ಮಹಾಶ್ರೀ ಶೀ[॥*]

Text of the inscription: (Latin Transliteration)

1. śrīgaṇādhipatayē nama: || avighna mastu | namastuṅgaśiraścumbi candracāmaracāravē (|*) trai-

2. lōkyanagarārambhamūlastambhāya śambhavē (||*) syasti śrī (||*) jayābhyudaya śakavaruṣa 1380 san-

3. du yambhattavondaneya vatrtamāna bahudhānya saṁvatsarada margaśira ba 12 ā lū | śrīmadrājā-

4. dhirāja rājaparamēśyara śrī vīrapratāpa yi(ṁ)mmaḍidēvarāya mahārāyarū vidyānaga-

5. riya rājadhāniyalū yidu sakalasāmbrājyavanāḷi varnāśramadharmagaḷannu pratipālisukāla da-

6. lu avara nirūpadinda bārakūra rājyavanū guruvappa oḍeyarāḷuva kāladalū chōḷiyakēyrya

7. [kellaṁ] gereya vināykadēvara divyaśrīpādasadaṅgaḷigū ayivarū halarigū vijā[na]gariya hiri-

8. ya aramaneya kāmavaṭṭada vallabhadēvagaḷū dēvara dharmakke dānadhārāpūvryakavāgi ā candrākrkasthā-

9. yiyāgi baradu naṭṭa śilāśāsanadde kramaventendare dēvarāyamahārāyaru namage dānadhā-

10. rāpūrvakavāgi dhā[re]ya naradu nāū baddu banda brahmradāya mūla rājādikannyānadavūralli namage

11. śāsanasthavāgi naḍadu baha kuḷada honnina oḷage vināykadēvara dharmakke ā candrākrkasthāyiyāgi māḍiddu bā-

12. rakūra pariva[vrta]kke salluva kāṭi ga 70 honnu akṣaradallū kāṭi gadyāṇa yappattu honnanū ā

13. candrākrkasthāyiyāgi dīvaḷigeya habbada mūrudinadhdharmake naḍisikoṭṭu bahevu ā

14. vūrige āru anusari vottidare halarū ā vottanū kādu ā vināykadēvarige nīvu māḍida dīvaḷi

15. geya habbada mūrudina dīpōtsahada dharmavanū naḍisikombigendu voḍambaṭṭu baradu

16. naṭṭa śilāśāsana [|*] yiū śāsanakke rājādikannyānada nālūvūra hanneraḍumandi janani

17. gaḷu yibbaru horahinanavaru ayivatteraḍu okkalugaḷu voḍambaṭṭu māḍi[da*] dharmaśāsana

18. ā katrtaru vallabhadēvarasara opa | śrī sōmanāthadēvaru vūra hanneraḍu mandi jananigaḷa voppa

19. gubhikō[ṇa] vāsudēvaru baṅkihaggaḍeya oppa rājādiya brahmaru āṇṇaheggaḍeya oppa [|]

20. . . . brahmaru āivatteraḍu vokkala oppa vāsudēvaru chōḷiyakēyrya āyivaru halarū

21. (halarū) vallabadēvarasarige mūlavāgi dhāreya neredukoṭṭa maneya chatu

22. [sī]meya vivara mūḍalu paṇḍitara gaḍiyindaṁ paḍuvalu teṅkalu āgrahā-

23. radiṁ baḍagalu paḍuvalu rājabīdiyindaṁ mūḍalu baḍagalu [cai]ṇaṁ

24. gaḷa gaḍiyindaṁ teṅkalu yintī catussīmeya oḷaguḷa maneyanu mū-

25. lavāgi dhāreya neredu koḍuvudendu baradu naṭṭa śilāśāsana ||

26. dānapālanayā madē dānā chrēyōnusālana [|*] dānā syagrgamavā-

27. pnōti pālanādacuta[ṁ*] padaṁ [||*] śubamastu | ma[ṁ*]gaḷa mahāśrī śrī[||*]

Summary of the Inscription

This inscription inscribed on the granite slab records the date, place, authority and other relevant information. An eye-copy of it was published in the 'Annual report of epigraphy 1901' as A.R. no.144 and was later included in the 'South Indian inscription series volume VII' as general no.336 (Aiyer 1932). This study deals with the genealogical issue of the ruling king mentioned in the inscription. It also reviews different aspects of the inscription such as religion, politics, society and economy.

The inscription begins with the Sanskrit *śloka* that offers respect to the god Gaṇapati- the shunner of the ill fate and Śiva the pillar of the city's origin. The inscription proclaims the date of its plantation as per the *Śaka* calendar. It continues in Kannada, eulogizing the then king, [Devarāya II] of Vijayanagara. This inscription is about the donation dedicated to Chowlikeri's lord Vināyaka. King Devraya offers 70 *Kāti Gadyāṇa* (minted in Barakuru), on the occasion of the imminent 3-day *Dīpotsava* (lamp festival).

As for the authentication, the consent of administrators, chiefs, and households have been mentioned. It also includes a record of the donation of a house by the people or a person called *Hala* through the permission of the local lord. The extent and boundary of this house are stated. The concluding lines in Sanskrit, suggest the virtues of donations and ended with *Maṅgala* (auspiciousness) and *Śubhamastu* (good luck).

Views on the Inscription

An eye copy of this inscription was published in the 'Annual report of epigraphy 1901 and 'South Indian inscription series volume VII' (Aiyer 1932). The published material reads '*Immaḍi* Devaraya' for the king referring to 'Devaraya II' of the Vijayanagara Empire as stated. The *Śaka* calendar date recorded in the inscription is *Bahula* 12th of *Mārgaśīrṣa* month in *Bahudhānya samvatsara* year 1381, which correlates with the 18th of December, 1459 CE in the Gregorian calendar. The Governor of Barakuru mentioned in the inscription was 'Guruvappa odeya'.

The 'Devaraya II' is also known by the name *Praudadevaraya*, *Immadi* is Kannada for II in other inscriptions. Likewise, his son Mallikārjuna deva is also known as Mummadi Devaraya (Devaraya III). The point worth noting is that the date mentioned above coincides with the reign of King Mallikārjuna Deva i.e., from 1446-1465 CE. He is said to have ascended the throne after his father

Devaraya II's death. To support this argument, we get the recorded date of death of Devaraya II i.e., on 24th May 1446 CE in the *Akkana basadi* inscription of Shravanabelagola, Hassan district (Paramashivamurthy, 2007).

Also, Guruvappa Odeya, the governor mentioned in the inscription, is assigned the date 1458-59 CE in P. Gururaj Bhatt's work (Bhatt 1975). Banappa and Pandarideva Odeyas are mentioned as his predecessors in 1457 and 1455 respectively. Another inscription in the Someshvara temple at Mudakeri mentions Guruvappa's rule in Barakuru province with Mallikārjuna as the king on the throne in 1458 CE. Both pieces of evidence infer that Guruvappa governed Barakuru province during the reign of Mallikārjuna (Devaraya III) and not Devaraya II, as mentioned in the Chowlikeri inscription's secondary record. It is certainly not a commemorative reference to Devaraya II in the inscription, as it clearly states that the donation is given by the king on the throne of the Vijayanagara Empire. It is either misreading of the letter Mu [ಮು] as E [ಇ] by the scholar, which would have been correctly spelt as Mummadi Devaraya (Devaraya III) or it might have been the scriber's mistake. The conclusion can't be made as the letter is unclear or ambiguous in the inscription.

Discussion of the Inscription's Aspects

The inscription has elements of the Religion to consider. The Shaivite deities such as Gaṇapati and Śiva are given salutations at the beginning of the inscription, which signifies the importance of Shaivism in that period. Though earlier periods of Vijayanagara i.e., pre-empire period, locally worshipped goddess Pampa, later this deity was absorbed into the pantheon of Hindu deities, through her marriage to Vīrupākṣa (a form of Śiva), who soon superseded her in importance.

Vīrupākṣa was chosen as the tutelary deity of the Vijayanagara kings and states. Śaiva *śloka* and decoration are mostly common in the inscriptions during the Saṅgama dynasty. Such inscriptions are found all across the state of Karnataka. In later times, *Saluva* and *Tuluva* dynasties adopted Vaishnavism (Verghese, 2004).

The inscription also refers to *Diwāli/Dīpāvali* festival for which the three days lamp festival was held. Lamp festival refers to lighting lamps in and around the temple to delight the deity. This gives an idea of the existence of the Diwali festival and how it was celebrated in the Vijayanagara period.

The political aspect of the inscription speaks about the administrators and administration of the state. The monarchy is observed in the political state of Vijayanagara with Mummadi Devaraya (Devaraya III) as king. The political scenario of the administration level in Barakuru province is ambiguous as many chiefs and households are mentioned without proper designation and status. This inscription mentions the ruling king on the throne of the empire and the then governor of Barakuru province.

In the 14th century CE, the Vijayanagara Empire had conquered the country of *Alvakheda* from the long-ruling Alupa kings, after which Alupas paled into insignificance. *Alvakheda* was divided into Barakuru and Mangaluru provinces under the earlier administration itself. The governors (as one mentioned in the inscription) are the authorities newly appointed by the king. According to P. Gururaj Bhatt, Alupas continued to possess their hereditary rights and privileges but were subordinated to the central authority of the governors in Barakuru and Mangaluru, which is inferred from a few other epigraphical records. In congruence to this, the above inscription (Fig.7) mentions the important people with the last name '*Heggade*', a family name also observed among Alupas. It might have been a reference to the Alupa descendants belonging to royal households residing in those areas.

The inscription refers to twelve *Jananīs* (mothers/women) of the village, who gave their consent. This suggests some kind of authority or honour given to women (especially of higher households) in the administration.

The economy of the region was very diversified and significant for the state. Barakuru city was very important to the Vijayanagara Empire, as it was one of the important sea ports-cum-trade centres of that period. Mainly, horses were imported here from Arab countries for Vijayanagara's cavalry. For this matter, pleasing the people of this region, was a necessity. Thus, the donations were made in-time.

During that period, coins were distinguished based on mints, metals, values and symbols. The name of the coins that existed then are – *Gadyāṇa, Varāha, Honnu, Paṇaṁ, Rūkā, Kāsu*, etc. *Gadyāṇa* was the most popular gold coin (Ghatti, 2016).

In the case of this inscription, the donation is given in the form of *Kāti Gadyāṇa*, a monetary gold coin during Vijayanagara times. Seventy such *Kāti Gadyāṇa* are recorded to be donated to the temple mentioned. *Kāti Gadyāṇa*, also a gold coin, is a sub-type of *Gadyāṇa*. The literal meaning of 'Kāti' is one-fourth, hence *Kāti Gadyāṇa* is considered 1/4th of a *Gadyāṇa*. A *Kāti- Gadyāṇa* weighed around 13 grains (Ghatti, 2016). Normal *Gadyāṇa*'s weight was standardized to 50-52 grains under the Vijayanagara rule, which makes it veritable (Nārāyana, 1977). These *Kāti Gadyāṇa* were minted in Barakuru mint itself, which is suggested to be of lower quality (Ghatti, 2016).

It is suggested that *Kāti Gadyāṇa* was quite a popular gold coin. There are lots of references to the large number of *Kāti- Gadyāṇa*s. Sometimes, it is also referred to as '*Kāti Ga'* or just '*Ka Ga'* along with the number of coins. This shows the popularity of this coin. There are also references to half of the *Kāti Gadyāṇa* coins (Ghatti, 2016).

4 *Kāti- Gadyāṇa* = 1 *Varāha*

8 *Kāti- Gadyāṇa* = 1 *Doḍḍa Varāha*

2 *Kāti- Gadyāṇa* = 5 *Paṇaṁ*s

As far as social aspects are concerned, this inscription gives an idea of a well-established documentation system in existence. For the record purpose, a very convincing description of a plot with a house, which was meant for donation, is observed. Describing elements such as *Rājabīdi* (King's Street/Main Street) and Agrahara (Dwelling place especially of the brahmin community) can still be identified (K. Uppuru, personal communication, December 07, 2020)

The language used to describe the duty of the inscription is Kannada. It implies that Kannada was the official and known language to the local people of this region, even though the region/country claims to have its indigenous language called 'Tulu'. This might be because of the continuous occupation of the Kannadiga empires from the age of Kadambas in this region. Also, the use of Sanskrit has been observed to offer salutations to gods.

There are mentions of people from different ethnic groups following Hinduism, as the context and content of the inscription were also related to the same religion. The names (of people who gave consent) in the inscription offer an indication of the authoritative power and honour of the people and their households.

There are references to *Heggade*, usually, the last name, which is derived from the word *'Pergade'*, meaning 'chief'. It might have referred to chiefs or headmen of the specific community or a group. Usually, around the Barakuru region Bunts, Brahmins and Jains bear these titles or last names.

There is yet another reference to a community called 'Halaru', which according to the Krishnappa Uppuru from the temple committee, is another name for the Koraga tribe. Also, according to them, Koraga people had a settlement around Chowlikeri till recent times and they are associated with the construction of channels in Chowlikeri's lake/tank (K. Uppuru, personal communication, December 07, 2020). Their lifestyle was through hunting, honey collection, *Dhol kunita* or performances in the city and as an agricultural labourer. 'Hala' also means 'plough'. This could be the reason for them being mentioned as 'Halaru' (Siraj, 2012). After speaking with other knowledgeable people in town, it was ascertained that the term Hala referred to the Jain community, which held significant authority in the Barkur.

The inscription mentions twelve Jananīs (mothers/women). The nature and the characteristics of their hegemony over others are unclear. The position of women in Tulu country is viewed to be high in various aspects, as there existed a tradition of Aliyasantana[1] or Aliyakattu[1]. According to this tradition or law, a child is part of the mother's family and inheritance is matrilineal (Siraj, 2012). Apart from this, there are evident women rulers like queen Ballamadevi and Chikkayi Tayi, who are well known for their dexterity and diligence in governance (Raj & Rao, 2019). Therefore, the referred Jananīs/women might have had an important status in the society, either because of their higher households or due to their position as chief or headwomen in the administration of the village.

Conclusion

In this Vijayanagara inscription of Chowlikere, major elements are reviewed and discussed. The current location and condition of the inscription are documented. Its primary objective is to provide a new eye copy of the inscription using both-secondary sources and the physical inscription as the primary source.

An attempt is made to provide a concise summary of the inscription that mentions the King, using basic comprehension. It gives a brief idea of the political body and society of back then such as the regional authorities, city authorities, and the prominent citizens of the town with the body of the inscription detailing the king's donation to the temple for *dīpotsava* (Lamp Festival). It also includes details about the temple's location and landmarks. This was also used to discuss the religious, political, social, and economic aspects of the time in the region.

Most importantly, this review resolves the chronological issue, establishing the reigning king's and preceding king's timelines. After Devaraya II died in 1446 CE, Devaraya III ascended the throne, and he issued this inscription while the Barkur was under Governor Guruvappa's authoritative term. The suzerain king under whom the governor served has been recorded which well supported the argument in this study.

This is a preliminary study with some limitations. Nonetheless, it sheds new light on the meaning and significance of the inscription. As a result, the detailed explanations provided here contradict the names and timelines that were previously misinterpreted. This paper can be viewed as a starting point for further research. Additional dimensions for future scopes could include the reconstruction of the settlement through epigraphical pieces of evidence, the historical background of the temple, and exploring other monuments in the area through inscriptions, which could broaden the scope of the study.

References

Aiyer K.V. Subrahmanya 1932. *South Indian Inscription (Texts)*. Vol. VII. Culcutta: Archaeology Survey of India.

Bhat P. Ganapayya 2008. "The empire and its periphery - The Vijayanagara presence in Tulunadu." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.* Indian History Congress, 2008. 245-250.

Bhatt P. Gururaja 1975. *Studies in Tuluva History and Culture (From the prehistoric times upto the modern).* Manipal: Manipal Power Pr..

Frowde Henry 1908. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India.* Vol. VII. London: Oxford at the Clarendon Press.

Ghatti Rekha H 2016. "Coinage of Vijayanagara Empire." *Imperial Journal of Interdisciplinary Research (IJIR)* 2, no. 12: 1783-1787.

Naik, Karamthur Venkatesu May, 2016 . "Numismatic data from the Vijayanagara inscriptions." Edited by K. Victor Babu. *International journal of multidisciplinary educational research* (Sucharitha Publications) 5, no. 5(5): 64-68.

Narayana, N. Sankara 1977 . "Catalogue of Vijayanagara Coins in the Madras Government Museum." *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum* XIV, no. 1: 11-12.

Paramashivamurthy 2007. *Proudadevarayana shana samputa (kannada).* Hampi: Prasaranga statutes, Kannada university,

Prabhu, Govindraya, and Nithyananda Pai 2006. *The Alupas: Coinage and History.* Sanoor: SG Prabhu Publisher.

Raj, Meghana K, and Rajshekar Rao. March, 2019. "A Landscape Approach to the Rejuvenation of the Cultural Landscape of Barkur through Historical Analysis." *International Journal of Science and Research* 8, no. 3: 1467-1477.

Saletore, Bhasker Anand. 1936. *Ancient Karnataka - History of Tuluva,.* Vol. 1. Poona: Oriental book agency.

Siraj, S. Anees 2012. *Karnataka State Gazetteer: Udupi District.* Gazetteer, Gazetteer Department, Bengaluru: Government of Karnataka.

Verghese, Anila. "Deities, cults and kings of Vijayanagara." *World Archaeology* 36, no. 3 (2004): 416-431.

Selected Glossary

Aliyasantana or Aliyakattu – The traditional law of a matrilineal system of inheritance, followed by most of the Tuluva communities.

Baḍagalu – North direction in old Kannada.

Bahudhānya – One of the 60 Jovian years of the Vedic calendar.

Bahula – Indicator of the dark fortnight days.

Candrākrkasthāyiyāgi - A statement referring to the sun and the moon as the witnesses of the action or event.

Dīpastambha – Lamp pole/ lamp stand.

Deśa - Country

Dhana śāsana – Donative inscription.

Ghāt – Range of stepped hills or hillside.

Hala – Plough.

Halaru – Refers to Jain family heads.

Heggade – The last name observed in several communities. It is derived from the old Kannada word *pergade,* which means 'chief'.

Immadi – 2nd ordinal number or regional number given to Kings and Queens in Kannada.

Jananī – Mother / Matriarch

Javali – Clothes or Drapery.

Kanara – A stretch of land alongside the Arabian Sea in the Indian state of Karnataka. It is also known as Kannada or Canara coast.

Kāti Gadyāṇa – A type of gold coin of certain money value issued during the Saṅgam dynasty of the Vijayanagara Empire.

Kere – Tank/ Lake.

Keri – Extension or division in the town

Kśetra – Domain/ Location

Mahāliṅgeśwara – Shaivite deity, another form of lord Śiva.

Mārgaśīrṣa – One of the 12 months in the *Śaka* calendar.

Mūḍalu – An east direction in old Kannada.

Mummadi – 3rd ordinal number or regional number given to Kings and Queens in Kannada.

Okkalugaḷu - Households

Paduvalu -West direction in old Kannada.

Praśasti – Eulogistic inscription.

Rājya – Sovereignty/ Political State

Sati – A historical Hindu practice, in which a window sacrifices herself on her husband's funeral pyre.

Satigal – Memorial stone to commemorate the sacrifice of the women who performed *Sati*.

Śilāśāsana- Stone inscription

Teṅkalu – South direction in old Kannada.

Tuluva – People who speak the Tulu language or reside in the region of Tulunadu.

Veergallu – Memorial stone of a martyr.

GOAN GODDESS KĀMĀKṢĪ

Neeta Omprakash*

***Abstract*:** There is a temple of Goddess Kāmākṣī in the village of Sirodā in Goa. According to the historical records, there was a temple of goddess Kāmākṣī in village Rai, Lotli, Rachol, and Camorlim which were destroyed in the 16th c. during Portuguese rule. There is a mystery about goddess Kāmākṣī's arrival in Goa.

The *Sahyādri-Khaṇḍa* gives a clue that the goddess arrived in Goa from Kaur which is probably a village in neighbouring Karnataka. In Karnataka goddess is worshipped as Kaur Kāmākṣī. *Sahyādri-Khaṇḍa* also mentions that the goddess Kāmākṣī became Mahiṣāsuramardinī. Historians have cited some reasons to show that the goddess Kāmākṣī was brought to Goa by some lesser-known earliest *Kadamba* rulers by the name *Agnimukha*. There are several sculptures found abandoned in the forests in mutilated conditions of a goddess in the boat. No community at present worships this goddess. The iconography of some of these sculptures is that of *Mahiṣāsuramardinī*, yet some strange elements give a scope to doubt about the identity of the goddess.

Key Words: Goddess Kāmākṣī, Rai, Sirodā, *Sahyādrī-Khaṇḍa.*

There is a temple of Goddess Kāmākṣī in the village of Sirodā in Goa. According to the historical records, there was a temple of goddess Kāmākṣī in village Rai, Lotli, Rachol, and Camorlim which were destroyed in the 16th c. during Portuguese rule. There is a mystery about goddess Kāmākṣī's arrival in Goa.

A few ancient sculptures abandoned in the forests of Goa discovered by archaeologists, environmentalists, and historians have not yet been properly

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 193, Vol. 72, 2023. pp. 247-262

* A-201, River View Park, Ribandar, Panaji, Goa – 403206, M: 09423889775, Email: neeta.omprakash6@gmail.com

identified. Even though ancient art reveals the socio-religious aspect of a particular period of society, at times it can conceal more than what it reveals. Few such sculptures documented by scholars in their respective books became a riddle for me too. It is a tale of goddess Kāmākṣī's transformation to Mahiṣāsuramardinī and then to another new goddess whose name is erased from the public memory. The identity of this goddess is a mystery.

Historians, archaeologists, and environmentalists from Goa who have surveyed the ancient temples and surrounding areas have found several ancient sculptures of a 'goddess in the boat' abandoned in forests in mutilated conditions. Many broken sculptures (which were still available a few years ago) have been immersed in rivers, ponds, and wells by the temple committee (with the permission of the Goddess as told to me by some of the temple care-takers). In some temples, a few mutilated sculptures which were not immersed in water, are kept in the shrines beside the main temple. Some scholars have identified these sculptures as the goddess of traders because they were found in the vicinity of rivers, and ancient trade routes. I disagree with this opinion.

At the outset, taking into consideration the geography of Goa which has a sea coast on the western side and many big and small rivers, estuaries, and ponds in the hinterland, it could be easy to identify this group of sculptures either as the goddess of traders, sea fearers or of fisher folks. But in contemporary times these goddesses are not worshipped by any specific community.

Dr. Mitragotri, an archaeologist from Goa had first discovered three sculptures, two from Gulelī and one from Savardā (in Sālcette *tālukā*) of a deity in a boat. He dates the sculpture from Gulelī to the *Silahārā-Kadamba* period, another one he dates between 1700-1800, and the sculpture from Savardā ascribes to the *Vijayanagara* period. To give a brief idea about the sculptures, I quote Dr. Mitragotri on the sculpture found in Gulelī, "This image is adorned with *kirīṭamukuṭa*, one small necklace and one big garland, armlets, anklets, bracelets and *kuṇḍalas* in the ear. The deity has eight hands. She holds a sword, a bell, a *naramuṇḍa* (Skull), and a trident in her right hand. She holds a *pātra* (Bowl), a bow, a shield, and a *ḍamaru* (Kettle drum) in her left hand. The hands and legs are stiff and rigid. It belongs to the late medieval period 1700-1800" (Mitragotri, 1988, 75). A small figure of a buffalo is seen pressed by the left knee of the goddess. She is shown seated in a small, simple boat similar to that of a fisherman. There is a human head visible above the edge of the boat, and two ores and a fish are carved at the base of the boat. Another badly mutilated sculpture also has a small figure of a buffalo below the left knee of the goddess and human heads on the edge of the boat.

Dr. Mitragotri doesn't provide any identification for this deity. He gives an important observation that such sculptures are found only in Goa. He gives a reference from *Ṛgveda*, *Mahābhārata*, and *Devīmāhātmya* where Goddess is compared to a boat, 'you are Dūrgā the boat that takes us across the difficult ocean of existence. He further mentions that in *Devīmāhātmya* goddess is called *Tāriṇī* (*Ibid.* 77).

Historian Dr. Pratima Kamat has documented a couple of sculptures in her book *Tāriṇī* and Tar-Vir. Even she refers to *Devīmāhātmya, Ṛgveda,* and *Mahābhārata* where the goddess is called 'boat' and '*Tāriṇī*. With this reference, Dr. Pratima Kamat calls this deity in the boat *Tāriṇī* (Kamat, 2008, 153-154).

Environmentalist Rajendra Kerkar has documented 13 such sculptures in the forests in the vicinity of ruined temples of *Kelbāi, Mahāmāyā, Sāterī*, and in '*Devāchī rai*' (sacred groves). Even he is not aware of any name for this deity commonly known in Goa.

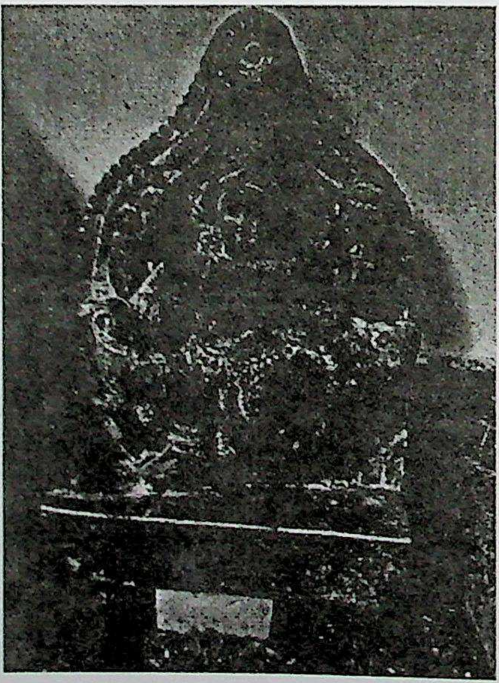
The sculpture from village Nagve is the simplest of all the available sculptures. The goddess is depicted standing in the boat, she holds a sword in her right hand and a bowl in her left hand. Three people are rowing the boat. A mast in the boat has a square panel with a figure engraved on it. Scholars think that the figure on the pole is a monkey and hence it could be the '*Vānaradhwaja*' of *Kadambas* of Goa. Based on this feature the sculpture is dated from the *Kadamba* period. I would like to mention that from the stylistic features of the sculpture, it can be said that it must have been carved by a folk artist. It doesn't have any refinement seen in other *Kadamba* period sculptures. The iconography of this goddess is the same as that of the goddess *Sāterī* and *Śāntadurgā* in Goa.

In Bhuipāla there is a sculpture of a goddess sitting in a boat. The villagers of Bhuipāla worship this goddess with the name Jogeśvarī. In the sacred grove of Bhironda, there is a sculpture of an Aṣṭabhujā deity sitting in a boat. Both these deities are shown holding a sword in her right hand and a bowl in her left hand.

***

I have made certain observations about the iconography of these deities:

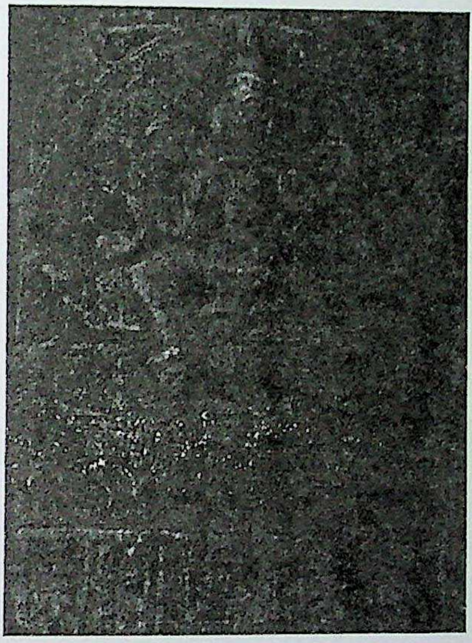
- The Goddess Gañjeśvarī from Guñje is four-armed, holding a Trident and sword in her right hands and a shield in her upper left hand, and probably a bowl (not properly visible) in her lower left hand. The goddess is seated on the boat (it resembles a fish) in *ardha-lalitāsana* as if she is sitting on a pedestal. This is the only sculpture where there is no human figure seen along with the goddess.



Goddess Gañjeśvarī from Guñje

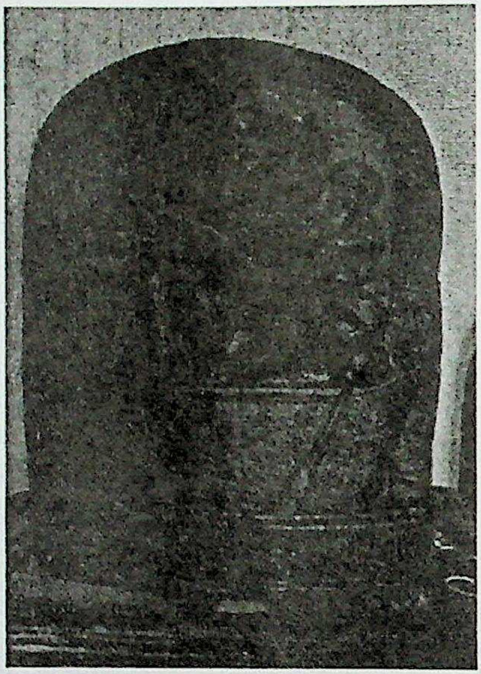
- The Goddess from Nagve is shown standing in the boat being rowed by three people. It is more of a realistic representation. She holds a sword and a bowl in her hands. This sculpture appears to be a folk sculpture as it lacks refinement.

- The Goddess from Savardā is Aṣṭabhujā, there are five human heads visible on the edge of the boat, and two attendant figures and two dogs are seen on both sides of the goddess. She holds a bell, sword, *naramuṇḍa*, trident, shield, and bowl in her hands.



From Savardā. Photo credit: Siddesh Kamulkar and Balaji Shenoy

- The Goddess from Dhamshe is Aṣṭabhujā, who holds a bell, sword, trident, bowl, etc. There is only one human head seen on the edge of the boat. A Significant feature of this sculpture is that the figure of a buffalo is seen being pressed by the left knee of the goddess. Similar features are seen in another image from Dhamshe. The number of human heads on the edge of the boat is more in the case of the sculpture from Dhamshe. The goddess rests her feet on the human head. She is shown seated on a pedestal. The figure of the animal (most probably a buffalo) below the knee of the goddess is not pressed but it looks as if it is walking.



From Dhamshe. Photo credit: Siddesh Kamulkar and Balaji Shenoy

- In the fragments of one of the ruined sculptures there is a figure of buffalo seen standing below the knee of the goddess, there is also a figure of a dog and a lion which resembles the royal icons of *Kadambas*. This sculpture is most probably from the *Kadamba* period.

- A 6th c. sculpture of Mahiṣāsuramardinī found near Lamgao has four hands. She is very dynamic and robust with prominent features and bulky weapons especially a bell in her upper left hand. The figure of the buffalo is very simplified yet has the rustic quality of an animal. The right hand holds a trident which presses the head of the buffalo and the left-hand rests on the back in a friendly manner. She appears to be very calm and composed. This sculpture is more realistic compared to the other sculptures which appear iconic. The base of this sculpture is not visible hence I am not sure if there was a boat. The Bell icon is seen in a couple of other images as well.

- There are quite a few sculptures in a later period that depict the goddess similar to the popularly found Mahiṣāsuramardinī images but the goddess is shown standing in the boat.

- The iconography of Mahiṣāsuramardinī (according to the text) comprises of a bell icon when she has more than twelve hands, but the Mahiṣāsuramardinī sculptures found in Goa have a bell icon even when the goddess has four hands.

- One more important aspect of these sculptures as also noticed by Dr. Mitragotri (who first documented these sculptures), is that the shape of the boats in these sculptures is similar to that of a fishermen's boat or canoe. None of these images are that of a seafarer's boats as seen on hero stones found in Goa. From this observation, it becomes evident that this goddess is not the goddess of those who ventured into the deep sea.

***

There is a symbiotic relationship between iconography, art, and mythology. The study of ancient Indian Art is incomplete without the knowledge of myths which in turn provide the iconography. The narrations of the deities killing the demons occupy a large portion of Devi myths, folk tales, and visual arts as well. This fact compelled me to search for a reference about the group of sculptures under study in ancient texts related to Goa.

The *Sthala Purāṇas* are an important source of information about the history and geography of a place. *Sahyādri-Khaṇḍa* which is part of *Skanda Purāṇa* is the *Sthala Purāṇa* of Goa. In *Sahyādri-Khaṇḍa*, there are four chapters *(Kāmākṣī Māhātmya:* 1 - *Kāmākṣī Devī,* 2 - *Bhakta Brāhmaṇa,* 3 - *Mahiparakṣasacya sainyaśca sanhāra,* 4 - Mahiṣāsuramardinī) dedicated to goddess Kāmākṣī. In the first chapter, King Ambarish asks Narada "Who is goddess Kāmākṣī ? Which goddess' *Śakti* (probably he means Form) is *Mahiṣāsuramardinī* dedicated to goddess Kāmākṣī. In the first chapter, King Ambarisha asks Nārada "Who is goddess Kāmākṣī? Which goddess'? How was *Ryy kṣetra* created?" In the 4th chapter, he further asks "How did *Jaganmātā* Kāmākṣī become Mahiṣāsuramardinī dedicated to goddess Kāmākṣī. In the first chapter, King

Ambarish asks Narada "Who is goddess Kāmākṣī? Which goddess'?" (Cunha & Gerson, 1877, 263-275) In brief, the story is as follows: There was a devout Brahmin by the name Agnimukha. His son Guṇākara was killed by a demon 'Pratimahiṣāsura' who was Mahiṣāsura's son (Mahiṣāsura's *kanin putra*). Agnimukha approached Lord Brahma for help who in turn approached Lord Harihara. After being pleased by their prayers Lord Harihara asked them to appease goddess Kāmākṣī who resides in *Ryykṣetra*. They all pray to goddess Kāmākṣī and request her to kill the demon and get back Guṇākara. There are two versions of the end of the story. The first version (chapter 3, verses 15 - 16) has the demon realizing his mistake and asking Goddess Kāmākṣī to pardon him, as he will return Guṇākara to Agnimukha and go to the temple in *Pātāla* forever. Another version of the story (in the 4th chapter, verses 12-14) describes the killing of the demon by the goddess with her trident. There is an elaborate description of the place where the goddess Kāmākṣī resides. It is mentioned that *Ryy* was a beautiful and prosperous island where one could hear the echoes of sea waves that would hit the tall walls of the palatial houses and staircases. One could also hear the sound of bees and birds hovering over the beautiful flowers in the pond. There is a mention of *Ryykṣetra, Ryy Gram,* and *Ryy Nagara*. It is also mentioned that the goddess comes from Kaur and goes to Pathagao and she permanently lives in *Ryy Nagara* after killing the demon Mahiṣāsura.

The description of the goddess in *Sahyādri-Khaṇḍa* has very important clues for the identification of the sculptures. It is mentioned that the goddess holds a bell in one hand, and a trident in another hand. She sat on the lion and arrived in *Ryy gram* from Kaur. Bhairava along with his army of bhootagan accompanies the goddess in her journey to kill the demon Mahiṣāsura. Further, there is a mention that a temple of Bhairava, a long strip of bells near the temple of Bhairava, and a 'fact telling' pond are situated next to the temple of goddess Kāmākṣī. (Bhairava is one of the forms of Shiva. His companion is a dog. He is considered to be the guardian deity of the villages). Bhairava is called '*dūta*' – messenger/guard of the goddess in *Sahyādri-Khaṇḍa*. It is further said that Lord Harihara, Lord Brahma, and other gods lived on the mountain from where they climbed down to welcome goddess Kāmākṣī on her arrival in *Ryy gram*.

The *Sthala Purāṇa* was a compilation by many scholars probably over a period of 8 - 9 centuries. The *Sahyādri-Khaṇḍa* presently available in Goa is a collection of scattered pieces from various sources all over India as far as Kolkata to Tamilnadu. The writers of Purāṇas have put down history in mythic form, hence we have to separate the mystic element to know the history. The historic aspect of this myth is that a person called Agnimukha worshipped Goddess Kāmākṣī who was brought from Kaur, her temple was situated in *Ryy* (present Rai) and there was also a temple of Bhairava nearby. The 4th Chapter of *Sahyādri-Khaṇḍa* "Goddess Kāmākṣī becomes Mahiṣāsuramardinī" gives a clue that originally the goddess was not Mahiṣāsuramardinī. The narration states that the goddess Kāmākṣī comes from Kaur and settles in *Ryy nagara* after killing the demon Mahisāsura. This aspect indicates that a new composite image of Kāmākṣī and Mahiṣāsuramardinī was created at some juncture.

At present, there is a place called Rai in Salcette *tālukā*, which is situated between river Zuri on the eastern side, river Sal on the western side, and the Arabian Sea on further west to river Sal. Indologist Rev. Henry Heras conducted archaeological excavations in many places in Goa in the early 20th c. His finding about Raya (Rai) gives us some important clues about the temple. He mentions that "not far from the present village there is a tank called *diultoloi* (tank of Gods) and *Diulbath* (divine property)". They say there was a Hindu temple close to it. In one of the neighbouring mountains, there is a path with steps carved into the rock. This path according to tradition was used by the dancing girls from other temples when coming to visit the temple of Raya (Rai) which was supposed to be the main one.' (Henry, 7 - 8)

Gomes Pereira refers to the temple of goddess Kāmākṣī in Raya (Rai) in his book 'Hindu Temples'. He says, 'the central *Devasthāna* of the region (in Raia) was the one founded by Agnimukha Ray and dedicated to Kāmākṣī who became the patron deity of that locality. The temple was transferred to Shiroda. The transfer of the temple to Shiroda probably happened during Portuguese rule when most of the temples were destroyed. The *Sahyādri-Khaṇḍa* is dated not later than the 13th c. If we are to believe Gomes Pereira, it would mean a man called Agnimukha Ray must have migrated either from Bengal, Assam, or Karnataka and also had brought this deity Kāmākṣī or much before 13th c.

Another scholar Teresa Albuquerque mentions about this temple in Rai in her book 'Goa: The Rachol legacy'. She states that "in the village of Raia the central *devasthāna*, or temple, was founded by an early *Kadamba* ruler. Agnimukha Roy by name was the first Brahmin of Canarese origin to come and rule in those parts. The temple is dedicated to goddess Kāmākṣī who became the patron deity of the locality" (Pereira, 1978, 106).

Jorge Sequeira has given an in-depth analysis of the identity of the person Agnimukha Roy. I take only the essence from his book, "Agni and Mukha are both Kannada words, Roy could not be a surname but a designation (king)" (Jorge, 1972, 9). Hence Goddess Kāmākṣī in Goa was brought from the south and not from Assam as many scholars believed to be so because of the last name Roy. Even Sequeira thinks that Agnimukha was one of the earliest rulers of the *Kadamba* dynasty in Goa. "The territory occupied by Agnimukha Roy came to be called, according to its greater or lesser importance and opulence, successively, *Ray-kṣetra*" (*Ibid*, 8)

Sahyādri-Khaṇḍa mentions *Ryykṣetra, Rayy gram* and *Rayy nagara*. The different designations of *kṣetra, grāma,* and *nagara* must have been over some time as and when the significance of Raia changed due to the shift in the capital to Chandrapur (present Chador) and Vellha Goa (present Old Goa). According to the eminent etymologist Fr. Francisco Xavier Vaz, "Raia- as its name suggests was the early seat of royalty. In Konkani, it is called Rayathur or Raithur which means 'Royal city' {Raya (king) + tur (town or village)}. The name has undergone several changes: *Ryykṣetra, Rayanagara, Rayapura, Rajapura,* or *Raygrāma* in keeping with the rise and decline of the place". (Teresa, 1972, 7)

The temple of goddess Kāmākṣī was not only in Rai but was also present in the neighbouring villages of Rachol, and Lotli. The reference to these temples is found in '*Konkankhyan*' Published by Shripad Venkatesh Vagale (it was originally written in 1643 by an anonymous poet). In the second chapter on '*Ṣaṣṭhī Mahimā*,' the author says, "there was a temple of Śrī Kāmākhyā in Raichur (present Rachol). While a Brahman devotee was on the journey of earth (*Pṛthvī Prayāṇa*) goddess Ambā was pleased (became *Prasanna*) with him in Kauranj. He brought the goddess from Kauranj. He was a short distance away from his village Loltli when it became dark so he stayed that night in village Rai. The next morning when he wanted to take the goddess to his village Loltli she would not move. The goddess remained in Rai. There was goddess Kāmākhyā in both villages. So, the villagers of Rai-Lotli worship the goddess" (Anonymous, 1640, 11). In the 8th chapter, which is about the shifting of the temples, he mentions that goddess Kāmākhyā who was in Raichur (present Rachol) was shifted to Rai-Shiroda (in Shake 1480) (*Ibid,* 33). At present, there is a temple of the goddess Kāmākṣī in Shiroda (in Ponda tālukā).

Prof. Pissurlencar has given the list of temples that existed in 1567 in Salcette based on the information available in government archives. He mentions that there was a temple of goddess Cāmākhyā (Kāmākhyā) and Bhairava in Camorlim and Rai. (Priolkar, 1961, 67-68)

Jorge Sequeria gives a possible reason for the goddess Kāmākṣī must have been brought from Kañcīpuram in South India. He writes, "The legend says that the founder of the Kadamba clan, Mayūravarmā was at the court of *Pallavas* in Kañcīpuram to dedicate himself to a profound study of the Vedas. Some incidence led the latter to become a warrior and he became so fearsome that the king gave him the administration. After some time taking advantage of the confusion created by Samudragupta in the south, he became independent and founded the *Kadamba* dynasty, a branch of which, almost four centuries later settled in Goa. He may have since adopted Kāmākṣī for deity guardianship of the dynasty". (Teresa, 1972, 11)

In Kañcīpuram, Goddess Kāmākṣī is considered the incarnation of Pārvatī who did penance to appease Shiva for marriage. Even today the temple in Kañcīpuram has a grand festival of her marriage with Shiva. There is another festival which is supposed to be her favourite one where goddess Kāmākṣī is taken around in the pond in a boat. This festival happens just before the festival of the marriage of goddess Kāmākṣī with Śiva. Even Goa has the tradition of taking the goddess in the boat for a short ride in the pond adjacent to the temples.

Ādi Śaṅkarācārya wrote '*Saundaryalaharī*' in the temple of Kāmākṣī. He describes her as a composite image of Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, and Dūrgā. Kā=

Sarasvatī, Ma= Lakṣmī, Akṣī = beautiful eyes. Kāmākṣī means the one with beautiful eyes, and Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī are her eyes.

Dr. Rajeshwari has given an interesting myth about the goddess Kāmākṣī in her book 'Śakti-Iconography'. She has mentioned that there are temples of goddess Kāmākṣī in Kandukur in the Nellor district and at Alampur in the Kurnool district. The goddess in these temples has 4 hands holding characteristic weapons of *Cāmuṇḍā* and there is a row of three heads below her feet. The myth about this goddess Kāmākṣī is as follows: "According to Dhampalavijayam, a bronze smith of *Kalyāṇa* migrated to Kañcīpuram on the advice of a mendicant to sell his wears. A daughter of the *Colā* king bought a mirror from his shop without paying the price. The son of the bronze smith went to the palace to collect the payment but the guard attacked him. He saved his life by attacking the guard with the weighing rod and reached home to caution his father and other siblings. After the second attack failed the king sought the advice of the mendicant and learned the secret that the smith family does not handle weapons on Saturday as it was their day of worship and penance. The King called all three sons to the palace to give the payment for the mirror on Saturday. When they arrived at the palace they were beheaded. The grief-stricken father who was a great devotee of goddess Kāmākṣī went to her temple and prayed. The goddess appeared before him and asked him to lay the three heads at her feet and the bodies at the door of her shrine. Later the goddess endowed the bodies with new heads and lives in them. The father prayed to the goddess to permit the heads below her feet to remain in the same position. Goddess Kāmākṣī granted the boon". (Rajeshwari, 1989, 81)

In the above-mentioned sculptures of the goddess seated in the boat, we find that there is a row of human heads below the feet of the goddess. The number of heads is sometimes one or three or five or even more. At times it is also seen in some sculptures that the goddess' feet rest on one of the human heads placed on the edge of the boat. When the goddess is shown seated, a tiny buffalo is shown either suppressed below her knee or is shown standing/walking below the pedestal.

P. P. Shirodkar has given a reference to Kāmākhya Bhairava in his paper on 'Influences of Nath Cult in Goa". He says, "The Nath Cult has much to do with Bhairava. One of the most terrific aspects of Siva. Bhairava is also mentioned as one of the *Siddhas* in some of the lists like *Varṇaratnākara* and *Vajrayānī*. Bhairava is closely connected with the *Śakti* cult also. Worship of *Śakti* without Bhairava is inconceivable. In Goa and Maharashtra Bhairava is considered a *kṣetrapāla* who protects the village from any calamity, snake bite, witchcraft, etc. Saint Ramadasa calls him *Kṣetrapāla*. This deity is also found in the form of Kāmākhya Bhairava at Camorlim (Salcette)". (Shirodkar, 1988, 15)

The association of Bhairava with Kāmākṣī is because she is considered to be a form of Pārvatī. A dog is a companion of Bhairava. In a few sculptures, a figure of a dog is seen on the side, or below the figure of the goddess. Stylistically the figure of the dog is that of the *Kadamba* period. The only reason for a figure of a dog to be shown along with the goddess could be to indicate the symbolic presence of Bhairava. A figure of a lion is seen in a couple of sculptures which is part of the iconography of Dūrgā / Mahiṣāsuramardinī.

Conclusion: Archaeologists have found many sculptures abandoned in the forests of Goa out of which are of goddess standing or sitting in boat. Certain features allow us to think that she is the goddess Kāmākṣī brought to Goa from south India. The Goddess in these sculptures is shown either seated or standing in a boat and has human heads placed below her feet or on the edge of the boat in varying numbers one, three, five, or even more. The number of hands also varies from two up to eight holding different weapons, most common are a sword, a bowl, a bell, and a trident. According to the iconographic texts Mahiṣāsuramardinī holds a bell when she has more than twelve hands. But many sculptures of Mahiṣāsuramardinī found in Goa have four hands with a prominent bell icon. The iconography of Kāmākṣī as described in *Sahyādri-Khaṇḍa* mentions that the goddess holds a bell in one hand and a trident in another. In some of these sculptures, there is a tiny figure of buffalo pressed by the knee of the goddess. In another example, there is a huge buffalo that is being subjugated but not killed. In some other examples, the goddess is shown slaying the buffalo with her trident as seen in popular Mahiṣāsuramardinī icons.

The possible reason for the prominent boat icon in these sculptures could be that the earliest *Kadamba* ruler Agnimukha must have travelled by boat to reach Rai which is surrounded by rivers Sal, Zuri, and the ocean when he brought the idol of goddess Kāmākṣī from south India. *Sahyādri-Khaṇḍa* mentions that the place where the goddess Kāmākṣī lives is an island. Goddess Kāmākṣī is popularly known as Kaur Kāmākṣī in Karnataka. *Kadamba* rulers were originally from Karnataka and are known for venturing into the deep sea for trade.

The sculptors took the liberty to experiment with the iconography (probably as guided by the learned men or the patrons) and the result was a new composite image of Kāmākṣī, Cāmuṇḍā, and Mahiṣāsuramardinī. There are many Mahiṣāsuramardinī sculptures found in Goa (the earliest one is from the 6th c.) having the influence of *Cālukya, Yādava, Silaharas*, or *Vijayanagara* because Goa was ruled by them. The sculptors migrated from the neighbouring states as and when they got royal patronage. It is but natural to see the stylistic features as well as the popular mythological narration seen in the art of neighbouring states where the artists belonged. Probably there was a very strong Mahiṣāsuramardinī cult even in Goa. The worship of the Mother goddess is very strong in Goa even to this day. The above observations show that some artists tried to show that, the walking buffalo indicates that Mahiṣāsura is heading to *Pātāla*. Some sculptors have shown that the goddess is pressing the buffalo with her knee. That is the reason why there are two different versions found in the *Sahyādri-Khaṇḍa* about the end of the demon Mahiṣāsura. The fourth chapter of *Sahyādri-Khaṇḍa* must be a later addition that mentions that goddess Kāmākṣī kills Mahiṣāsura with her trident.

Among the sculptures found so far, some of them are just iconic where we see the goddess stand or sit in the boat holding a sword and a bowl in her hands, and the boatmen are seen rowing the boat. Then we have sculptures where we see goddesses with multiple hands holding weapons, boatmen as well as human heads placed on the edge of the boat. The weapons in the hands are those of the goddess Cāmuṇḍā / Mahiṣāsuramardinī. One of the sculptures has a garland of human heads and her feet are disproportionately large. There is no doubt about the stylistic maturity of the sculptors but there was some experimentation with the iconography of the goddess. May be the syncretism of different sects led to this phase of amalgamation. In Goa, the overlapping of the names of the goddess is very common such as Gajalakṣmī/Kelbāi/Mahāmāyā/Bramhanimaya/Sāterī/Śāntadūrgā. Even to this date the worship of anthill and a *Kalaśa* (water pot with a mask kept over the pot) is in practice in the temples. Anthill is called *Sāterī* whereas her anthropomorphic form is of a goddess riding a horse holding a sword and a shield in her hands. The iconography of Śāntadūrgā is the same as that of *Sāterī*, Even though there has been Sanskritization of the folk deities with an attempt to merge with the mainstream Devi cult, the culture of worship of local deities is very strong.

There is every possibility that there were many more minor temples dedicated to this goddess Kāmākṣī even in Sattari and Valpoi *tālukā* in north Goa where we find these sculptures abandoned in forests.

Reference:

1. Anonymous poet, 1831. originally written in (*Śaka* 1640-43) 1721-24, '*Konkanakyan*', Published by Shripad Venkatesh Vagale, Mumbai. p. 11
2. *Ibid*, p. 33
3. Cunha De, Gerson J. 1877. (compiled by), Research and edited by Grammarian Gajanan *Shastri* Gaitonde, *Sri Skanda Purana*: *Sahyadri-Khanda*, '*Kamakshi Mahatmya*', chapter 1 - 4, Sri Katyayani publications Mumbai -34, pp. 263 - 275
4. Henry Heras. *'Pre-Portuguese remains in Portuguese India'*. pp: 7 - 8
5. Jorge Sequeira. 1972, 'Raia & Camorlim: Contribution to the history of the villages of Raia and Camorlim', p. 9
6. *Ibid*, p. 8
7. Kamat Pratima. 2008. '*Tarini and Tar-Vir*: *The unique boat deities of Goa*': GOINCARH (Goa Institute for Culture and Research in History), pp. 153 - 4
8. Mitragotri V. R. 1988. 'Mahishasurmardini in boat- a rare Guleli motif' in *Purabhilekh Purattava*, Vol. VI, No. 2, *Journal of the directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum,* Panaji, Goa, pp. 75
9. *Ibid*, p. 77
10. Pereira Rui Goems, Tr. By Couto Antonio Victor 1978, *'Goa: Hindu Temples and Deities,* Vol. I, Adv. Gomes Periera, Panaji - Goa. p. 106

11. Priolkar A. K. 1961. *"The Goa Inquisition: The terrible Tribunal for the East"*, Bombay, pp. 67 - 68
12. Rajeshwari D. R. 1989. *Shakti-Iconography*. p. 81
13. Shirodkar P. P. 1988. "Influence of Nath Cult in Goa" in *Goa Cultural Trends*. (Seminar papers). Directorate of Archives, Archaeology, and museum, Government of Goa, Panaji - Goa, p. 15
14. Teresa Albuquerque. 1972. *'Goa: The Rachol legacy,* Wenden Offset Private Ltd. Mumbai, p. 7
15. *Ibid*, p. 11

REVIEWS

Gītabhāratam by Kshirod Chandra Dash, Motilal Banarasidass, New Delhi, 2022, pp. XX + 209.

Gītabhāratam is a compendium of thirty two patriotic Sanskrit songs by the noted poet Kshirod Chandra Dash. The book sings the glorious India in a way unique in Sanskrit literature. The poet dedicates the book to his revered parents and to his revered teacher Prof. A.C. Sukla which is followed by the acknowledgements and the preface by the poet Prof. K. C. Padhy, ex-vice-chancellor (i/c) and a renowned Sanskritist gives an introduction to the text that presents his considerate view on the merits of this poetic art as well as the melodious effect of the songs there. The Sanskrit text begins with the singing notes of eight metrical stanzas by the poet titled *Upanyāsa* (Introduction) devoted to *Vāgdevatā* (Divine Speech) that tacitly presents the characteristics of a good piece of poetic art. The first part of the book starts with the song of *Bhāratagānam* that elucidates the excellence of Indian nation-hood through the musical note of an *aṣṭakam* (a whole containing eight parts / stanzas). The *rāga* / metre used in all the thirty two songs (Thirty Two Parts of the book) presents a pattern of couplets that are structured into lines of seven four-beat-measures of *Bhairavī-rāga*. The first couplet of each of the songs is marked *dhruvam* which is used as a refrain to each of the succeeding couplets. Each of the songs is devoted to a particular state (*rājya*), or Union Territory, or a particular linguistic territorial region of India. The last song of the book titled *Viśvagānam* (Song Universal) is devoted to the glorious spectrum of this planet (earth) and to the humanity at large. The poet invokes and glorifies universal brother-hood and the spirit of joy in this eight-fold rhythmic utterances. To the poet this planet is a global village where the global leaders are implored to work in harmony and concord for universal well-being. This last song suggests that true patriotism lies in attaining universal brotherhood:

> शोभननेतृनिवह-धृतसम्मतिरवतु भुवनमिह नित्यम् ।
> जीवन-सेवन-चिन्तन-भूमिषु विलसतु शुभमविकल्पम् ॥ (32/8)

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 193, Vol. 72, 2023, pp. 263-273.

Hereafter, the reader gets into the last part of the Sanskrit text titled *Upasaṁhāra* (Epilogue) which is presented through two metrical stanzas-one in *vasantatilakā*-metre and the other in *anuṣṭup* respectively where the poet wishes the progress and prosperity of the people of this divine land as well as the promotion of these songs which are composed with the direct inspiration of *Vāgdevatā* (Goddess of Speech) herself.

The second section of the book is English-translation and the third one is the *Amṛtā-Sanskrit-Commentary* on the Sanskrit texts which are offered by Dr. Smt. Subhasree Dash, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Ravenshaw University, Cuttack. She has also added an Index of Sanskrit verses and a Glossary (Sanskrit words with English meaning) to the text. These are significant scholarly inputs by Dr. Smt. Dash. In a very simple flowing language the translation presents the meaning of the Sanskrit text which works as a pleasant support to the lovers of literature in general. The Sanskrit commentary unfolds the nuances and the suggestive notes of the songs for the appreciation of the Sanskrit-lovers which may be observed from a few poetic lines as follows:

लोध्रक-केसर-कुन्द-कमल-नवनीप-शिरीष-सुवेशम् ।
कुरुवक-चम्पक-राग-विभासित-पुलकित-सौरभ-देशम् ॥ (1/8)

This is the description of the flowers that bloom in Indian land-scape. This abode is decorated with the blooms of *lodhra*, *kesara*, *kunda*, *kamala* and fresh *nīpa*-groves. With the shining splendor of *kuruvaka* and *campaka* it is horripilated and made fragrant all over. *Amṛtā Sanskrit commentary* notes that the blooms of *śirīṣa*, *nīpa*, *kunda*, *lodhra*, and *kuruvaka* decorate summer, rainy, autumn, pre-winter (cool), winter (cold) and spring seasons respectively. *Kesara*-flower brings extension to the beauty of Kashmir (valleys) with the advent of winter. Various types of *campaka*-flowers decorate the entire Indian landscape at different times and places in various ways. Unfolding the meaning the commentary notes the poetic suggestion that all the six-seasons are intimately experienced in this great Indian landscape even today. In this way, both translation and commentary are noteworthy additions to the text and commendable contribution to literature in general.

The merits of these songs may be understood from the musical aspects of the figures of sound which enhance rhythmic effect of joyful singing and also from the charming aspects of the figures of sense that enhance poetic delight. The musical lines are promoted by the alliterations (*anuprāsas*), rhymes, and chimes (*yamakas*) which may be observed as follows :

साल-रसाल-विभीतक-वंश-मधूक-पनसतरु-वासम् ।
शाल्मलि-केसर-जाम्बव-निम्ब-कदम्ब-शिरीष-सुवेशम् ॥ (13/4)

In this description of the natural environment of Jharakhanda the first line of the stanza presents "*sāla rasāla*" and the second line presents "*jāmba-nimba-kadamba*" wherein "*sāla*, *rasāla*" and "*mba*, *mba mba*" are repeated respectively in both *svarūpa* (in form) and *karma* (in serial order) and thereby present the alliteration titled *chekānuprāsa* (isolated alliteration) (cf. *Sāhitya Darpaṇa* "SD", 10.3). When there is frequent repetition of a single letter or many letters in a line/stanza and help fortifying the spirit and sentiment in description that is noted as *vṛtyanuprāsa* as follows:

औषधजलभर-निर्मलपुष्कर-सुधवल-सिकतिल-तीरम् ।
दोलितफलनतकानन-नन्दित-सुमसुरभिभर-समीरम् ॥ (10/4)

The above stanza presents the peaceful natural environment of Goa with the frequent repetition of the consonants like *la* and *ra* in the first line and *la la*, *ta ta*, *sa sa*, and *bha bha* in the second line which are conduicive to the spirit of description and thereby this may be noted as an instance of *vṛtyanuprāsa* (cf. SD, 10.4). In the same stanza the end-rhyme in the first line is *tīram* and in second it is *mīram*. Here the last consonants with *anusvāras* (nasal sound) added to them are preceded by *ī*-vowels. The same repetition of the line-ends of the stanza is known as *antyānuprāsa* (end-alliteration) (cf. SD, 10.6). Also here the *ī*-vowels are penultimates at both the lines which bring the joy of *upadhāmilana* (union of the pen-ultimate) that promotes poetic delight and musical aspects of singing. Further, *śrutyanuprāsa* (ear-regaling alliteration) is noted in the repetition of the letters of the same *varga* (same place of articulation of the letters) in a line / stanza as follows: *unmada-kākali-miśrita-kala-kala-kuñjara-kesari-rāsam* (5/4). Here one meets frequent repetition of the guttural *ka*, palatal *ra*, and semivowel *la* which import the musical excellence (cf. SD, 10.5). Other musical effects are promoted by chime (*yamaka*) which may be seen in the *Bhāratagānam*, the *Mizoramgānam* etc. as follows: *vīraniketana-bhārataketana avirata-vardhita-mānam* (1/5). Here the combination of the same consonants and vowels are repeated in *ketana* and *ketana*. The first *ketana* is *nirarthaka* (no meaning of its own) as this is a part of the word *niketana* and the second *ketana* is *sārthaka* (meaningful) as it denotes the flag of India (*bhārata-ketana*) and here this may be noted under *yamakālaṁkāra*. In *Mizorama-dhāma gānam* the reader comes across a line:

gambhārī-śubhasāla-kadamba-kadambaka-vātavilāsam (24/3) where the first *kadamba*-sound (a kind of tree) is *sārthaka* and the second one is *nirarthaka* as it is the part of the word *kadambaka* (group) which promote *yamakālaṁkāra* in the stanza (cf. SD, 10.8).

The role of the figures of sense is very important as those capture the emotion in elevating the language and ordering the experiences. A few such examples are noted for observation as follows:

Upamā (simile): *keraladhāma nandanavanamiva śobham* (7/1) the holy land of Kerala is exceedingly beautiful like *Nandanavana* (pleasure garden) of Indra. Simile is the resemblance between two things (subject of description and object of comparison) expressed in a single sentence and unaccompanied with the statement of difference. Here the similarity of the common property (*sādhāraṇadharma*) is expressed by the words like *yathā, iva* etc. In the given sentence *Keraladhāma* is the subject of description, *Nandanavana* is the object of comparison, *śobhā* is *sādhāraṇadharma*, *iva* is the connecting word that expresses similarity. Hence this is an instance of *upamā* i.e. *pūrṇopamā* (cf. SD, 10. 14). The figures of sense like *rūpaka* (metaphor), and *sandeha* (doubt) may be observed in the following stanza:

सर्वग-सुन्दर-सार-हरितवन-कुड्मलभर-मृदुहासम् ।
ईश्वरधाम नु केरलधामकिमिति विजनित-प्रतिकाशम् ॥ (7/8)

In the first line of the stanza *haritavana-kuḍmalabhara-mṛduhāsam* notes that the flowering buds of the lush-green forests are pleasant smilings of the holy Kerala-land. In simile two distinct things are compared by using a connective word such as 'like', 'as' etc. and hence the similarity is expressed. But in *rūpaka* (metaphor) similarity is suggested without the use of such connective words as seen in *kuḍmalabhara- mṛduhāsam* (flowering buds are smiling) (cf. *SD*, 10.28). The second line notes - whether this is the land of Kerala or divine abode (land of god)?

Here the knowledge of the beholder runs equally to both the ends and hence it is poetically conceived as *sandehālaṁkāra* (figure of sense titled Doubt). Thus, the figurative language of sense expands the hearts of the audience in ordering experiences and unfolding nuances of the text.

In addition to the figurative and suggestive language most of the songs present cultural excellences of the concerned region and the people under description and thus promote the human excellence of this great Indian landscape. *Mizoramadhāmagānam* may be observed as follows:

> संघनिवेषण-परशुभचिन्तन-मानव-शांतनिकेतम् ।
> तान्तव-सौचिक-शिल्पकला-शुभनृत्यकलोदित-गीतम् ॥ (14/8).

This holy land is the most beautiful abode of the human beings who love to lead care-free, gregarious, and peaceful life with the value of self-service for others. Here the songs of joy rise from the fibre-made-crafts (bamboo and cane crafts), weaving crafts, and the lovely dancing art-forms.

The poet's unique command over the target language, metrical skill, vibrant patriotic expressions, powerful imagination, and towering effort for the unity and integrity of the nation without territorial cleavage have tremendous mesmerizing effect on the mind of the audience for experiencing a strong cultural India of unity even beyond geographical boundaries.

S. N. Mahapatra

Bhubaneswar

Mama Sabdaviswam (My Word of Words), Bishnupada Sethi, Sanskrit Translation by Rabindra Kumar Panda, Har-Anand Publications Pvt. Ltd., 2023, Price-795/-, P.198

Mama Sabdaviswam is a translation of the book, 'My World of Words' written in English by Bishnupada Sethi. Sanskrit translation is made by Prof. Rabindra Kumar Panda, Vice-Chancellor, Shree Jagannath Sanskrit University, Shree Vihar, Puri, Odisha.

Bishnupada Sethi, recipient of distinguished alumnus award from the National Institute of Technology as well as National Institute of Industrial Engineering, Mumbai had joined the Indian Administrative Service in the year 1995. Currently, he is posted as the Principal Secretary, Higher Education, Department under Odisha Government. By serving in various underdeveloped regions of the State like Kandhamal, Gajapati, Sonepur, Nuapada, Rayagada, he got deep insights into the lives of common people and handled with great sensitivity for which National Human Rights Commission, which was then monitoring starvation deaths in KBK region appreciated his role. He got President's silver medal for his contribution towards conducting Census of 2011. As the Special Relief Commissioner, Sethi's performance on Managing Super Cyclone 'FANI' had been highly acclaimed throughout the world including International Bodies like UNITED NATIONS as the best practice.

He has published a number of articles and several books. His English poetry books namely, (1) Where Shall I Go! (2) My World of Words (3) Beyond Feelings (4) Beyond Here & Other Poems have been received well and have been translated to other languages.

Shri Sethi received Bhima Bhoi Award for contribution to popularize Mahima Philosophy in Odisha State. SARALA SAHITYA SANSAD felicitated him for contribution of mystic poetry.

Professor Rabindra Kumar Panda, the Vice-Chancellor, Shree Jagannath Sanskrit University, Shree Vihar, Puri, Odisha, is an eminent writer and author of 47 books. He has received many prestigious awards for his significant contribution.

The English titles of the poems are as follows:

1. An Unknown Tribal
2. Everywhere,
3. A Patch of Memory-Clouds,
4. On a Hot Summer Day,
5. A Pimitive Wish,
6. Night Songs,
7. Your Love
8. My Friend
9. Please Forget Me
10. Never Miss You
11. Ageless Time & We
12. Beyond Love!
13. What are They?
14. I Think of You
15. Perfection in Love!
16. Innocent Feelings!
17. Look What I Say in My Last Moments
18. A Deep Vacuum
19. Still in Senses
20. Some Expectations
21. Someone Crying
22. On Tenth Anniversary
23. I Hold on to My Base
24. An End!
25. Time is Short
26. I Sustain!
27. The Revisit
28. I will Cry Today
29. Visitors
30. Memories
31. I will do Everything
32. Standing by the River Daya
33. Lifeless on the Same Bed
34. Merchants of Hatred
35. A Vanquished Emperor
36. A Note
37. I Need a Home
38. Gulmohar
39. Change Over
40. My World is Aging

41. I Must Go!
42. Wherever I Go!
43. Summer in Front of my House
44. Distance and Memorable
45. The Whole and Part
46. Now, He is Everywhere
47. You will not Come Again
48. Let this Temple Exist
49. Survival
50. Child of God
51. For I am a Child
52. My Wishes
53. Words Unspoken
54. Words of Promise
55. Words of Flute
56. Words of Hatred
57. Loads of Unspoken Words
58. My World of Words

Here is an anthology of such good poems, My World of Words written in lucid English in a free verse style that arrests the attention of connoisseurs, Sahridayas or sensible readers. The poem though seems to be simple yet they are full of suggestive meanings. The poet who has made a place of his own in the field of English literature for his creative genius both for poetry and prose especially short stories gives a vent to his profound feelings and realistic experiences of life and love in his beautiful poems. Odisha culture is also reflected in his poems. Sometimes his voice gives vent to some of his expectations, frustrations, dreams and absurd fluctuating feelings. A penetrative can not but catch the subtle beauty inherent in the structure of his words. Bishnupada's world is significant and different. It is full of silent emotions put forth in the world of words. The poems of Bishnupada, a great sky in the field of literature as his name signifies, are mystic, highly philosophical in nature and sometimes very abstract and take us to a different world of beauty and truth.

Most of his poems full of symbolic images and metaphors delight us and leave a profound impact in our hearts. I like the most of his smiles. I am confident in saying that the sensitive readers will enjoy the aesthetic beauty of the contents meaningfully presented, in the poems.

A poem is presented here:

Still in Senses

The mind's sea in storms,

where the waves rise

carrying the boat of my consciousness

and hitting against

the hillocks of your cold feelings.

It is only a matter of time

this wooden boat reduces to smithereens,

being unable to withstand

the multitudinal forces.

I am still in senses-

Thinking about you!

***

Sanskrit translation is as follows :

इन्द्रियेष्वद्यापि

मनसः
सागरे जायते झंझावातः
यत्र तरङ्गा उत्तिष्ठन्ति
मम चैतन्यस्य तरणीं वहन्तः
प्रतिप्रहारं च कृत्वा तव शीतलभावनानां शैलेषु
केवलमेषः कालस्य एव विष्यः
लघुखण्डेषु विभज्येत
एषा काष्ठनिर्मिता नौका,
बहुविधशक्तिं सोढुमसमर्था
तथापि सचेतोहमस्मि

इन्द्रियेष्वद्यापि
तव विषये चिन्तचित्वा

The poem is very short but sweet and thought provoking. Still in senses, an incomplete expression but it speaks many things.

Its interpretation makes us clear about poet's mental state and his deep feelings of separation from his beloved. There is a cyclone in the poet's mind-sea where the waves of emotions arise carrying the boat of his consciousness and they get dashed against the hillocks of beloved's cold feelings. The word 'cold' is suggestive.

The waves remain there for moments only as they are fluctuating and transitory. Then the wooden boat of poet' consciousness reduces to smithereens because they can't withstand multitudinal forces. Nevertheless, the poet remains in his senses, controls himself and does not lose his balance. He passionately remembers his dearest one whom he loves most.

The poem brings to light a broken and unclear picture of poet's vibrating, trumbling and grumbling heart and his seriously painful state. The symbols like sea, storm, waves, wood, hillocks, multitudinal forces and cold feelings etc.

suggest his loneliness, helplessness, problem of separation, expectations, dreams, hopes for reunion, his sorrow and anxiety etc.

The poem is both emotional and intellectual. The poet's expression is oblique and the soul of the poem is suggestion. *Rasa is Vipralambha Śṛngāra* (Love in Separation) Though the poet tries to cover up his hidden pain, his symbols create a picturised and wonderful imagery. The Poet is successful in depicting his mental state. It succinctly reveals a truth that is personal as well as universal. I hope, the serious and sensitive readers will enjoy this sublime truth by patiently reading the beautiful poems of Bishnupada.

Oriental Institute, Vadodara **Sweta Prajapati**

શ્રીસયાજી સાહિત્યમાળા

		રૂ. પૈ.
૩૫૧	ગુજરાતનો પૉટરી ઉદ્યોગ – શ્રી શાંતિલાલ પી. પુરોહિત (૧૯૭૫)	૯.૦૦
૩૫૨	ઊંડાણનો તાગ – શ્રી છોટુભાઈ સુથાર (૧૯૭૫)	૧૫.૦૦
૩૫૩	ભારતીય વીણા – (સ્વ.) પ્રો. રસિકલાલ એમ. પંડ્યા (૧૯૭૮)	૩૧.૦૦
૩૫૪	ચરકનો સ્વાધ્યાય, ભાગ ૨ – (સ્વ.) બાપાલાલ ગ. વૈદ્ય (૧૯૭૯)	૯૬.૦૦
૩૫૫	ચાંપાનેર : એક અધ્યયન – પ્રો. રમણલાલ ના. મહેતા (૧૯૭૯)	૩૬.૦૦
૩૫૬	દ્વારકાના પ્રદેશનો સાંસ્કૃતિક ઇતિહાસ – (સ્વ.) શ્રી ક. ન. જોષી (૧૯૭૯)	૪૪.૦૦
૩૫૭	આધુનિક ગુજરાતના સંતો, ભાગ ૨ – ડૉ. કેશવલાલ ઠક્કર (૧૯૭૯)	૪૫.૦૦
૩૫૮	સૂર્યશક્તિ – શ્રી પદ્મકાન્ત ર. શાહ (૧૯૮૧)	૫૩.૦૦
૩૫૯	કવિ ગિરધર : જીવન અને કવન – ડૉ. દેવદત્ત જોશી (૧૯૮૨)	૫૧.૦૦
૩૬૦	વનૌષધિ-કોશ – અધ્યા. કે. કા. શાસ્ત્રી (૧૯૮૨)	૩૬.૦૦
૩૬૧	સહસ્રલિંગ અને રુદ્રમહાલય – (સ્વ.) શ્રી ક્નૈયાલાલ ભા. દવે (૧૯૮૩)	૭૯.૦૦
૩૬૨	વૈષ્ણવતીર્થ ડાકોર – (સ્વ.) ડૉ. મંજુલાલ ર. મજમુદાર (૧૯૮૪)	૪૮.૦૦
૩૬૧	વૃદ્ધત્રયી અને લઘુત્રયી – (સ્વ.) બાપાલાલ ગ. શાહ (૧૯૮૪)	૩૩.૦૦
૩૬૩	વડોદરા : એક અધ્યયન – પ્રો. રમણલાલ નાગરજી મહેતા (૧૯૮૭)	૪૪.૦૦
૩૬૪	મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ ત્રીજા – (સ્વ.) પ્રો. હસિત હ. બૂચ (૧૯૮૮)	૪૯.૦૦
૩૬૫	નાભાજીકૃત ભક્તમાલના ઐતિહાસિક ભક્તો – એક અધ્યયન – શ્રી મૂલશંકર હી. કેવલિયા (૧૯૮૮)	૪૪.૦૦
૩૬૬	લેસર (પરમતેજ) – શ્રી પદ્મકાન્ત ર. શાહ (૧૯૯૦)	૪૮.૦૦
૩૬૮	અર્વાચીન સંસ્કૃત સાહિત્યનો ઇતિહાસ – (અનુ.) એ. જે. રાવલ અને વી. એસ. લેલે	૧૮૮.૦૦
૩૬૯	મંજુલવિમર્શ – શ્રી જે. પી. ઠાકર (૧૯૯૨)	૨૩૬.૦૦
૩૭૦	પ્રાણવહસ્રોતોના રોગો : શ્વાસ-દમ – વૈદ્ય મણિભાઈ બ્રહ્મભટ્ટ (૧૯૯૫)	૧૭૬.૦૦
૩૭૧	વડોદરાનાં મંદિરો – કુ. મંજુલા એમ. સોની (૧૯૯૫)	૬૮.૦૦
૩૧૭	આહારવિજ્ઞાન – (પુનઃમુદ્રણ) ડૉ. જયશંકર ધ. પાઠક અને (સ્વ.) અનંતરાય મ. રાવળ (૧૯૯૦)	૬૦.૦૦
૩૭૨	ભવાઈ : સ્વરૂપ અને લક્ષણો – કૃષ્ણકાંત ઓ. કડકિયા (૧૯૯૬)	૧૯૩.૦૦
૩૭૩	શ્રીમદ્ ઉપેન્દ્રાચાર્યજી – ડો. લવકુમાર મ. દેસાઈ (૧૯૯૬)	૧૯૫.૦૦
૩૭૪	નાભાજીકૃત ભક્તમાલના ઐતિહાસિક ભક્તો – એક અધ્યયન, ભાગ ૨ – શ્રી મૂલશંકર હી. કેવલિયા (૧૯૯૮)	૧૦૬.૦૦
૩૭૫	ભવાઈ : ભક્તિ, રસ અને આહાર્ય – કૃષ્ણકાંત ઓ. કડકિયા (૨૦૦૩)	૧૩૫.૦૦
૩૭૬	પ્લેટોના કેટલાક સંવાદો – હરસિદ્ધ એમ. જોશી (૨૦૦૪)	૧૯૦.૦૦
૩૭૭	કૈવલજ્ઞાન સંપ્રદાય : સિદ્ધાંત અને સાહિત્ય – બહેચરભાઈ પટેલ (૨૦૦૫)	૨૨૫.૦૦
૩૭૮	વિદુરનીતિનું વિષયપરિશીલન – ડૉ. અંબાલાલ દ. ઠાકર (૨૦૦૭)	૧૧૫.૦૦
૩૭૯	સ્વાધ્યાય-સૂચિ (પુસ્તક ૧-૨૫) – જયંત ઉમરેઠિયા (૨૦૦૭)	૨૧૫.૦૦
૩૮૦	મહાભારતનો યુદ્ધકાળ, – વસંત અ. ગોડબોલે (૨૦૧૧)	૧૪૦.૦૦
૨૮૩ ૨૮૪	વડોદરા નરેશ શ્રીમંત સયાજીરાવ ગાયકવાડ (ત્રીજા) – ચિમનલાલ મગનલાલ ડોકટર, બીજી આવૃત્તિ (૨૦૧૪)	૫૮૫.૦૦
૩૮૧	મહાભારતનાં ગૂઢ રહસ્યો – અનુ. વિજયા લેલે (૨૦૧૬)	૪૩૦.૦૦
૩૮૨	સ્વાધ્યાય-સૂચિ (પુસ્તક ૨૬-૫૦) – જયંત ઉમરેઠિયા (૨૦૧૮)	૧૯૦.૦૦
૩૮૩	દેવર્ષિ નારદ – અનુ. વિજયા લેલે (૨૦૨૧)	૩૬૫.૦૦
૩૮૪	સોરઠ અને બરડા પ્રદેશનો ઇતિહાસ (૨૦૨૩) – પ્રદ્યુમ્ન ભ. ખાચર	૮૪૪.૦૦

પ્રાપ્તિસ્થાન : યુનિવર્સિટી પુસ્તકવેચાણ વિભાગ
પ્રો. સી.સી. મહેતા ઓડિટોરિયમ નજીક, જનરલ એજ્યુકેશન સેન્ટર સામે
ડી.એન. હોલ ક્રિકેટ ગ્રાઉન્ડ સામે, પ્રતાપગંજ, વડોદરા – ૩૯૦ ૦૦૨; ફોન નં. : ૦૨૬૫-૨૭૮૧૭૦૦

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE'S ACTIVITIES (2022-2023)

Oriental Institute is a post-graduate teaching and research Institute. Most of the Teachers/Research Officers are recognized guides for Ph.D. During the year 2022-2023 Oriental Institute remained active and vibrant with various kinds of activities. The activities of Oriental Institute for the year 2022-2023 are listed below:

I. Manuscript Section

Oriental Institute is a great repository of important and rare manuscripts. The Institute receives many requests, queries regarding accessing the manuscripts' copies, publication of articles, subscription of Journals, sending CD copies On-line or by post - all are answered by Research staff members. This year we received 56 queries regarding manuscripts & uploaded more than 103 copies of the manuscripts to different scholars in India and abroad. Among them scholars from Ayurveda University, Jamnagar; Parul University, Vadodara and Dept. of Sanskrit, Vadodara, Varanasi, Pune, Rajasthan, etc. collected Manuscripts for their Ph.D. programme. Many scholars collected Manuscripts for their research projects.

II. Critical Edition Wing

The Critical Edition Wing of the Institute was established for preparing the Critical Edition of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* etc. At present this wing is engaged in preparing critical edition of *Vāyupurāṇa*. *Gayāmāhātmya* - a part of the *Vāyupurāṇa* is nearly complete in terms of critical apparatus for eight chapters. Now the translation of this text in Hindi is in progress.

III. Printed Section

The printed section (Library) is famous for the availability of the very first edition of many rare and valuable books on Indology. Scholars come here in search of

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 193, Vol. 72, 2023, pp. 275-281.

such archival material in form of rare books and old volumes of Journals. We get 104 journals from India and foreign countries in exchange of our two Journals. Everyday 10-15 students, scholars and people from all walks visit our library.

IV. Publication

In the year 2022-2023, we completed **71st issue of Journal of the Oriental Institute (JOI) in English** and **59th issue of Svadhyaya - multilingual.** The editing, three proof-readings of next issues of both the Journals are ready. We have also published two Gujarati books under the series of Shree Sayaji Sahityamala **1.** ***'Charak no Swadhyaya – Part - I'*** and **2.** ***'Sorath ane Barada Pradesh no Itihasa'.***

V. Manuscripts Conservation Centre (MCC)

Oriental Institute was given Manuscript Conservation Centre (MCC) by National Mission for Manuscripts, Ministry of Culture, New Delhi with annual budget of Rs. 12,00,000 and appointment of three conservators. This project is still going on. This year nearly 60,000 folios of paper and palm-leaf manuscripts are given preventive treatment and 6000 folios are given curative treatment. This way many damaged, fragile, broken and acidic Manuscripts are secured from further damage. We also helped some people to conserve their own house deeds which were quite old and fragile.

VI. Manuscript Resource Centre (MRC)

Oriental Institute was given Manuscript Resource Centre (MRC) by National Mission for Manuscripts, Ministry of Culture, New Delhi with annual budget of Rs. 18,00,000 and appointment of ten cataloguers. Under this center we have digitally catalogued 518 Manuscripts on Kritisampada Portal of National Mission of Manuscripts.

VII. Seminars, Lecture-Series, Work-shops & Exhibitions

In the year 2022-23 we have organized Workshops, Late U. P. Shah Lecture Series and Extra Mural Lectures. The List of the Seminars, Lecture-Series, Work-shops and Exhibitions are as under:

Activity	Date	Major Highlights*	Benefits	Organized by/ Association with	Funded by
Exhibition of Manuscripts ''अक्षरसम्पदा''	30th April & 1st May, 2022	Manuscripts of famous Sanskrit works of different materials (paper, palm Leaf etc.) of different scripts will be displayed.	The people of the city will know about the cultural heritage deposited in Oriental Institute.	Oriental Institute	Oriental Institute, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda
Online Extra Mural Lecture Series (on the eve of Shankracharya Jayanti)	5th May 2022	Prof. Harekrishna Satapathy Former Vice-Chancellor Kalinga Institute of Social Science, KISS University, Bhubneshwar, Odisha Title of lecture : श्रीशङ्कराचार्यस्य सनातन धर्मोत्थानं प्रति योगदानम्	The people know about Shankaracharya and its contribution to Establish Sanatana Dharma.	Oriental Institute	Oriental Institute, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda
A 5 day Workshop on the Traditional Techniques of	4th July to 8th July 2022	Dr. P. Perumal Department of Museology, The M. S. University of Baroda, Vadodara	The students and Sanskrit scholar get the practical knowledge about the	Oriental Institute	Oriental Institute, The Maharaja Sayajirao University

Conservation of Palm Leaf Manuscripts			Preservation of Palm-leaf Manuscripts.		of Baroda
Granth Pe Charcha (A New programme started by Oriental Institute)	20th September 2022	Prof. Sanjay Karandikar Head, Department of Marathi The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara Topic : ''पाश्चिमात्य पाकशास्त्र'' भानुकेशव गाङ्गनाईक	The staff of the Oriental Institute got the information about a book of western food.	Oriental Institute	Oriental Institute, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda
Exhibition of Manuscripts ''પોથીનાં પાન''	22nd to 24th November 2022	Banyan Heritage Festival 2022	People of Vadodara got the information about the Indian heritage.	Oriental Institute	Oriental Institute, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda
National Workshop on Manuscriptology 2023	6th & 7th January 2023	Oriental Institute, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara & Parul University, Department of	The Students and doctors got the knowledge of Manuscripts especially related to the Ayurveda. They got the	Oriental Institute	Oriental Institute, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda

		Samhita Siddhanta, Parul Institute of Ayurveda and Research, Faculty of Ayurveda, Parul University, Vadodara	practical knowledge how we can edited Manuscripts.		
19th U. P. Shah Memorial Lecture Series	21st February, 2023	Lecture – I Jain Art of Deogarh and its Socio-religious Importance Lecture – II Unique Contributions of Kushana Jain Images from Mathura Speaker : Prof. Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari, Department of History of Art, Banaras Hindu Universtiy, Varanasi	The people of Vadodara got the knowledge about Jain Art and Jain Images from Mathura.	Oriental Institute	Oriental Institute, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda
Ramotsav (Celebrating Ramayana	23rd & 24th March 2023	IGNCA Regional Centre Vadodara in Collaboration	The Students and scholars get the	Oriental Institute	Oriental Institute, The

traditions in India)		with Ayodhya Sodha Sansthan & Oriental Institute, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara	information about the Ramayana and its various works composed on the life of Rama.		Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda
Celebration of World Heritage Day	18th April 2023	Oriental Institute, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara & Vadodara Smart City Development Limited Speaker : Shri Rajendra Shah & Arupa Lahiry	The students and scholars benefitted with the very minutely information regarding Vadodara City.	Oriental Institute	Oriental Institute, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda

VIII. Visitors at Oriental Institute

Many scholars including Indian and foreigners visit Oriental Institute in search of manuscripts. Some people come to see Institute out of curiosity which includes group of students from near or far colleges and school students who come on educational tours. It is included in our staff's duty to give lecture-demonstration to them. This year more than 156 students from 5 institutions (20 students from Museology department, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara, 14 Students from Sanskrit Department, 3 Students from Chemistry Department, 12 Professors from Science and Technology department, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, 20 students of Post-graduation from Faculty of Fine Arts, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara, 45 Students from Parul University, 11 Students from Library and Information Science, S.N.D.T. University, Mumbai) along with 57 individuals visitors visited our Institute. Some religious sects' head also visited the Institute with their groups of followers. Some professionals also make it a point to visit our Institute.

IX. Visiting other Manuscript Libraries and Collecting Manuscripts

To enrich our manuscript-collection, we depute staff-members to visit other library and bring digitized/Xerox copies of manuscripts of good texts. Sometimes people call upon the Institute to visit their ancestral homes/villages to collect manuscripts which they want to donate. As a result this year we received around 1500 original manuscripts from three families of Vadodara.

X. Research Work and attending Seminars

A Research Officer is supposed to do research on unpublished manuscripts, critically edit them and publish them in in-house journal or outside Journals. Along with publication, he/she has to attend Conferences and Seminars and should present papers. The I/C Director Dr. Sweta Prajapati herself attended 4 seminars, she was invited as a speaker in 7 Seminars/Lectures. The Gujarati Research Officer Dr. Jayant Umrethiya has attended 2 seminars and 4 Temporary staff members attended the workshops and lectures of the Institute.

XI. Ph.D Submitted

In the year 2022-23 two Ph.D. students submitted their theses under the guidance of Dr. Sweta Prajapati.

सौंदर्यलहरी

(शंकराचार्यविरचिता)

(Text in Sanskrit with Translations in English, Hindi, Marathi and Gujarati with Multi-Colour Pictures)

Edited by

R. I. NANAVATI

Translation

English : HARISH ZAVERI
Hindi : RADHAVALLABH TRIPATHI
Marathi : SAROJA BHATE
Gujarati : R. I. NANAVATI

General Editor

M. L. WADEKAR

First Edition 2013

Price : Rs. 1000/-

Copies available at :

The University Publications Unit
General Education Centre
A. I. C. S. Building
Opp. C. C. Mehta Auditorium
Pratapgunj, Vadodara - 390002
Ph. No. 0265 2781700

The University Facilitation Centre
Below University Head Office
Fatehgunj
Vadodara-390002
Ph. No. 0265 2795555

Statement about the ownership and other particulars about newspapers

JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

(To be published every year after the last day of September)

FORM IV

(See Rule 8)

1.	*Place of the Publication :*	**Oriental Institute** The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda Vadodara-390 001
2.	*Periodicity of its Publication :*	**Annual**
3.	*Printer's Name :* *Nationality :* *Address :*	**Jatin H. Somani** Indian Manager, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda Press (Sadhana Press) Vadodara - 390 001
4.	*Publisher's Name :* *Nationality :* *Address :*	**Dr. Sweta Prajapati** Indian C-62, Akshardham Society Aksharchawk, Vadodara - 390 020
5.	*Editor's Name :* *Nationality :* *Address :*	**Dr. Sweta Prajapati** Indian C-62, Akshardham Society Aksharchawk, Vadodara - 390 020
6.	*Names & Addresses of Individuals who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one percent of the total capital*	**The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda** Maharaja Fatehsinghrao Gaekwad Road Vadodara - 390 002

I, Sweta Prajapati, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Dr. Sweta Prajapati
Signature of Publisher

JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

THE MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO UNIVERSITY OF BARODA, VADODARA

The International Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, Included in UGC Care List, is published every year in the month of October by the Oriental Institute, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Near Palace Gate, Palace Road, Vadodara-390 001, Gujarat, India.

SPECIAL FEATURES :

Articles on Indology, Vedic studies, textual and cultural problems of the Ramayana, Epics & Puranas, notices of Manuscripts, reviews of books, survey of the rare works forming The Maharaja Sayajirao University Oriental Series, are some of the special features of this Journal.

Contributors to Note :

1. The Titles of Sanskrit/Non-Sanskrit works in transliteration should be in Italics with proper diacritical marks e.g. *Ṛgveda*, *Śvetāṣvara* etc.
2. The names of certain General classes of works in transliteration should not be in Italics e.g. Vedas, Upanisads, Puranas, (but with diacritical marks).
3. Abbreviations of the titles of Sanskrit works should not be in Italics, e.g. RV (for *Ṛgveda*), SV (*Sāmaveda*) etc.
4. Proper names of person and place in transliteration, should not be in Italics but with diacritical marks e.g. Rāma, Prayāga etc.
5. Epithets (adjectives) in transliteration should be in Italics e.g. *Paulasatya, Kārtavirya*.
6. In the Article Sanskrit quotations (*Slokas* in part or complete) should be in *Devanāgarī* (In foot-notes also), Non-English stray words/ Sanskrit/ Prakrit words must be written in transliteration, in Italics and with proper diacritical marks.
7. Whenever an Abbreviation is used in an article, its full form should be stated in first occurrence and then that abridged form may be used for that full form in all over the article.
8. Reference should appear in footnotes at the bottom of each page. Foot-Notes below each page in running numbers should be with complete details in the following order:

   i) Surname first then initial/s of the author (author's name should not be with diacritical marks), ii) Title of the book (in Italics), iii) Publisher, iv) Place, v) Year of Publication, vi) Page No./s.
9. For 'Book Reviewers', the order of Book's description (to begin with) should be i) Name of the book (in Italics) with Vol. No. (if any), ii) Name of the Author /Editor, iii) Publisher, iv) Place, v) Year of Publication (with Edition), vi) Pages and Price, vii) ISBN (if there is any). The name of the reviewer should appear to the right side of the end and his/her address to the left side of the end.
10. Size of Fonts: Times New Roman in size 16 (bold & Cap) for Title, for body No. 14, for Foot-notes No. 10 with standard margin.
11. As per the Pre-publication Blind Reviewed policy, the reasons for rejection of an article are not disclosed to the contributor. The article may be sent to contributors 'to revise' according to suggestions of the editorial board before final decision of publication.
12. The Copyright of all articles published in the Journal will rest with the Oriental Institute.
13. A Contributor will be provided with a Complimentary copy of the Journal.
14. The type written original manuscript should be submitted in A4 size paper (typed on 1 side) to the Director along with the soft copy sent online in MS Word format with PDF along with Sanskrit and English fonts used in the article to - director-oriental@msubaroda.ac.in. Articles may be sent by post to :

The Director, Oriental Institute
The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda
Near Palace Gate, Palace Road, Vadodara - 390 001 (Gujarat)
Phone: 0265-2425121

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

G. C. TRIPATHI
Bhogilal Leharchand Institute of Indology, Vijay Vallabh Smarak, Jain Mandir Complex,
G.T. Karnal Road, P.O. Alipur, New Delhi - 110036
M: 09958808787, Email: gctripathi235@gmail.com

SIDDHARTHA SINGH
Department of English, Sri JNMPG College, Lucknow, UP, India, 226004,
Email: siddhartha.singh8@gmail.com, ORCID-ID. 0000-0002-4810-4314

PRASAD BHIDE AND MALHAR KULKARNI
K. J. Somaiya College of Arts & Commerce, Vidyavihar (W), Mumbai-77

Dept. of Humanities & Social Sciences, I.I.T. Bombay, Powai Mumbai-77
M: 8369752472, Email: malhar@hss.iitb.ac.in

MANISH RAJAN WALVEKAR AND PRADNYA DESHPANDE
Amrita Vishwa Vidyapeetham, Kasavanahalli, Carmelaram PO, Bengaluru, Karnataka-560035.
M: 975745466, Email: manishwalvekar94@gmail.com

SAPNA JAIN
A 137, Taksh Divine, Besides Nijanad Ashram, Adjoining L & T Knowledge City, Vadodara,
Gujarat-390019. M: 8764097770, Email: vision123.sapna@gmail.com

K. M. CHUDASAMA
Department of Economics, Faculty of Arts, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda,
Vadodara 390002, Gujarat, India. M: 9825854322, Email: krishnakumar.m.c-eco@msubaroda.ac.in

JAINACHARYA BHAGYAYASHSURI MS, MONISH SHAH AND SIDDHARTH KALE
C/o. Dr. Prakash T Punamiya, Punamiya Hospital, Sham Plaza Apartments, Irani Road,
Dahanu Road (W) – 401602, +91- 8000663329

SHOWKAT AHMAD DAR
Department of Public Administration, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar- 608002,
Tamil Nadu, India, M: 6005211303, Email: darshowkat41@gmail.com, Orchid Id : 0000000224099493

SUHAS CHAND KAPUR
Raniganj Girls' College, Paschim Barddhaman, West Bengal, 713358, M: 8641859467,
Email: suhaskapur2@gmail.com

PRIYANKARA CHAKRABORTY
41/1C, Raja Rammohan Roy Road, Dehala Kolkata-700008, M: 9830292541,
Email: prim.stylegmail.com

RAHUL NAG
Searsole Rajbari, Raniganj, Paschim Bardhaman-713358, West Bengal, M: 08436245138,
Email: archaeorahul@gmail.com

BARUN MANDAL
Flat No. 101, Yeeshopretam Apartment, Opp. Eenadu News Paper Office, Alamkhan Palle, Kadapa,
Andhra Pradesh, India, Pin: 516003; M: 7908002791, Email: mandal.barun0006@gmail.com

GOWRISH R PRABHU
Dave Villa, Behind KG Naik Villa, Opposite Rosary Church, Pratapgunj, Vadodara, 390002,
M: 9900994930, Email: gowrish2000@gmail.com

NEETA OMPRAKASH
A-201, River View Park, Ribandar, Panaji, Goa – 403206, M: 09423889775,
Email: neeta.omprakash6@gmail.com

Regd. No. 15007/57

Published by **Dr. Sweta Prajapati**, *I/c. Director,* Oriental Institute, on behalf of The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara - 390 001 (India)

Printed by **Jatin H. Somani**, *Manager,* The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda Press (Sadhana Press), Near Palace Gate, Palace Road, Vadodara - 390 001

Issued - August 2023

MSUP-5288-250-8-23